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CHRONOLOGICAL DISTANCE BETWEEN RĀMA AND KṚṢṆA¹

By

D. R. MANKAD, Aliabada (Dist. Jamnagar)

Traditionally, it is believed that the distance in time between Rāma Dāśarathi and Kṛṣṇa, is of one full Yuga, Rāma having lived in the end of Tretā and Kṛṣṇa in the end of Dvāpara. Taking 1000 years for a Yuga, as I have done in my 'Puranic Chronology' p.66 ff, this distance will be of 1000 years. But in my book just referred to, due to certain considerations, I was forced to put this distance at about 550 years. But my subsequent studies have convinced me that the distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was hardly of a hundred years, Kṛṣṇa having died *about* a 100 years after the death of Rāma. It may be that Kṛṣṇa was already born when Rāma died.

I have collected below the evidence which leads me to the above conclusion. Of course, it will also mean that one Yuga had 100 years, which were, later, increased to 1000 years.

Bharadvāja—Droṇa

(1)

As is well-known Bharadvāja had a son named Droṇa. Now Bharadvāja is definitely related to Rāma-period and Droṇa to Kṛṣṇa-period. Let us see how.

¹ Following abbreviations are used in this paper, which was read at the All India Oriental Conference, Bhuvaneshvara :—

Ai.Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa ; AIHT = Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by Pargiter ; Bh = Bharadvāja ; Bg = Bhāgavata ; Ag = Agni Purāṇa ; Hr = Harivaṃśa ; Mbh = Mahābhārata ; Rām = Rāmāyaṇa ; RV = R̥gveda ; Mt = Matsya ; Vn = Viṣṇu Purāṇa ; Vy = Vāyu Purāṇa.

1. In Rāmāyaṇa, Bharadvāja is called a pupil of Vālmīki. It is said,

स तु तीरं समासाद्य तमसाया महामुनिः

शिष्यमाह स्थितं पार्श्वे दृष्ट्वा तीर्थमकर्दमम् ॥ I. 2. 4 ॥

अकर्दममिदं तीर्थं भरद्वाज निशामय ।

रमणीयं प्रसन्नाम्बु सन्मनुष्यमनो यथा ॥ 5 ॥

On this the commentator Govindarāja says :

भरद्वाज इति वाल्मीकिः प्रधानशिष्यस्य नाम ।

At two more places in the second Adhyāya,¹ Bh is named as Vālmīki's pupil's name. At all these places Baroda critical edition spells Bharadvāja, though some mss. read Bhāradvāja also. This incident refers to Vālmīki's early life, before the birth of Rāma. Bharadvāja had his own Āśrama at Prayāga as is testified by Rāmāyaṇa itself. Vālmīki first narrated the story of Pūrva-Rāmāyaṇa to Bh. (Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha, I. 27)

2. Bh had given his daughter Devavarṇinī to Viśravas, the father of Rāvaṇa. Rām, VII. 3. 3 says :

ज्ञात्वा तस्य तु तद् वृत्तं भरद्वाजो महामुनिः ।

ददौ विश्रवसे भार्यां स्वसुतां देववर्णिनीम् ॥

By Devavarṇinī, Viśravas had a son named Kubera, who was Rāvaṇa's elder brother. This makes Bharadvāja a contemporary of Rāvaṇa and therefore of Rāma.

3. Rāma, when going for the forest-life had stayed for a night at Bh's āśrama, at Prayāga. (Rām II, 55, 1). So had Bharata (II, 92, 1). Rāma had met Bh, when he returned. (VII, 124) At the time of performing Aśva-medha, Rāma had gone to Bh's āśrama. (Padmapurāṇa, Pātālakhaṇḍa, 106),

4. Bh had relations with Divodās, the king of Kāśī and his son Pratardana.

(1) दिवोदासं वै भरद्वाजपुरोहितं नानाजनाः पर्ययन्त ।

Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa 15-3-17.

(2) तेन वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं दैवोदासि समनश्चत ।

Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā 3-3-7.

(3) In the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana, 30, it is said: from Vaiśālī, Bh went to Kāśī, where he became Divodāsa's preceptor. When Haihayas defeated Divodāsa, Bh performed a sacrifice and got Pratardana as a son to Divodāsa. Pratardana later defeated the Haihayas.

(4) In Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa 15.3.7 and in Kaṭha Samhitā 21, 10, it is said that Bh got kingdom for Pratardana.

¹ These Adhyāyas are usually considered interpolated.

(5) In Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 3.67, it is said that Bh flourished in the beginning of Tretā and he taught Āyurveda to Dhanvantari. In Śuśruta 1, 1, 2 Kāśirāja Divodāsa is identified with Dhanvantari:—

अथ खलु भगवन्तममरवरमृषिगणपरिवृतमाश्रमस्थं काशिराजं दिवोवासं धन्वन्तरिम् ।

Now both Divodāsa and Pratardana lived during the days of Rāma. Divodāsa is called in RV, VI, 61, 1 to be a son of Vadhyraśvan, and Vāyu, 99, 200 says :

वध्वश्वान्मिथुनं जज्ञे मेनकायामिति श्रुतिः ।

दिवोदासश्च राजर्षिरहल्या च यशस्विनी ॥

This shows that Divodāsa was the brother of Ahalyā, who was a contemporary of Rāma. Again, in Rām, VII, 38, 15 Pratardana is said to have come to greet Rāma, at his coronation.

All this proves that Bharadvāja who was a contemporary of Divodāsa and Pratardana, was also a contemporary of Rāma.

5. In Matsya 49, 29-30 it is said

उपनिन्युर्भरद्वाजं पुत्रार्थं भरताय वै ।

दायादोऽङ्गिरसः सूनोरौरसस्तु बृहस्पतेः ।

संक्रामितो भरद्वाजो महर्द्धिर्भरतं प्रति ।

This means that Bharadvāja was brought to Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta, Duṣyanta was defeated by Rāvaṇa, Rām, VII, 19,5 says

दुष्यन्तः सुरथो गार्धिगयो राजा पुरुरवः ।

निर्जिताः स्मेत्यभाषन्त ज्ञात्वा वरबलं रिपोः ॥

Thus also Bh becomes a contemporary of Duṣyanta and Rāvaṇa.

6. Bh was Bṛhaspati's son. Bṛhaspati had another son named Kuśadhvajā, whose daughter Vedavati was violated by Rāvaṇa. (Rām, VII, 17)

All this abundantly proves that Bh was a senior contemporary of Rāma Dāśarathi.

(2)

Mahābhārata is very clear that Droṇa was the son of Bharadvāja by Ghṛtācī. It is said in Mbh I, 121, 3-4 (BORI)

महर्षिस्तु भरद्वाजो हविर्धानि चरन्मुखा ।

ददर्शाप्सरसं साक्षाद् घृताचीमाप्नुतामृषिः ॥ ३ ॥

तस्या वायुः समुद्भूतो वसनं व्यपकर्षत ।

ततोऽस्य रेतश्चस्कन्द तद्गृषिर्द्रोण आदधे ॥ ४ ॥

तस्मिन्समभवद् द्रोणः... ..

1. This Droṇa was the ācārya of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas and was killed in the Mbh war.

2. In Mbh I, 121, 8, it is said

भरद्वाजसखा चासीत्पृषतो नाम पार्थिवः ।

तस्यापि द्रुपदो नाम तदा समभवत्सुतः ॥

This shows that Bh was a friend of Pr̥ṣata, the father of Drupada (the father of Draupadī) and Droṇa was a friend of Drupada.

Mbh I, 12, 10-11 say,

ततो व्यतीते पृषते स राजा द्रुपदोऽभवत् ।

पाञ्चालेषु महाबाहुतरेषु नरेश्वरः ॥ १०

भरद्वाजोऽपि भगवानासरोह दिवं तदा ।

This means that Bh died soon after the death of Pr̥ṣata. Drupada and Droṇa studied together.

This shows that Droṇa, the son of Bh, was a contemporary of Drupada.

3. In Mbh I, 121, 11 it is said

ततो पितृनियुक्तात्मा पुत्रलोभात्महायशः ।

शारद्वतीं ततो द्रोणः कृपीं भार्यामविन्दत ॥

Thus Droṇa, after the death of Bh, married Kṛpī, who was the daughter of Śaradvān. This Śaradvān was the husband of Ahalyā and thus Droṇa is not much removed from Rāma.

4. Droṇa had met Paraśurāma and had learnt astravidyā from him. See Mbh I, 121, 16-17:

स शुश्राव महात्मानं जामदग्न्यं परंतपम् ।

ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्तदा राजन्दित्सन्तं वसु सर्वशः ॥ 16

वनं तु प्रस्थितं रामं भारद्वाजस्तदाब्रवीत् ।

आगतं वित्तकामं मां विद्धि द्रोणे द्विजर्षभम् ॥ 17

5. This Droṇa was the son of Bh, who himself was the son of Bṛhaspati. Mbh, I, 61, 63 says:

वृहस्पतेवृहत्कीर्तेर्देवर्षेर्विद्धि भारत ।

अंशाद्द्रोणं समुत्पन्नं भारद्वाजमयोनिजम् ॥

This shows that Droṇa was the son of that Bh, who was the son of Bṛhaspati.

And all this makes absolutely clear that

(1) Bh was a contemporary of Rāma.

(2) Bh had a son named Droṇa, who was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa.

(3) Bh died soon after Pr̥ṣata's death.

(4) Then Drupada came to the throne. Then there was a quarrel between Drupada and Droṇa. Droṇa might have been 30 years old then.

(5) Kṛṣṇa, in point of time, immediately followed Rāma.

(6) Bh himself seems to have lived a very long life.

(a) Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 15, 5 says: भरद्वाजो ह वा ऋषीणामनूचानतमो दीर्घजीवितमस्त-
पस्वितम आस । Note the use of superlative *tama* with *dirghajīvi*.

(b) In Taitirīya Brāhmaṇa 3-10-11, it is said भरद्वाजो ह त्रिभिरायुमिन्द्रं वर्यमुवाच ।
तं जीर्णं स्थविरं शयानमिन्द्र उपव्रज्योवाच । भरद्वाज यत्ते चतुर्थमायुर्ददाम ।

This shows that he lived a very long life.

(3)

In spite of all this evidence, it may be argued that there have been more than one Bharadvāja and that, Bh, who was Rāma's contemporary was not the same as Bh, the father of Droṇa.

Therefore, I shall examine the question of there having been more than one Bharadvāja. Pargiter has said that there were many Bharadvājas. He first distinguishes between two Bharadvājas, one he calls Bh Bārhaspatya, who was the brother of Dīrghatamas and one he calls Bh Bārhaspatya Vidathin, who was given to Bharata Daśyanta by the Maruts and puts latter 2 or 3 generations later than the former.

Pargiter (AIHT, p. 221-4) then talks of other Bharadvājas thus:

1. Bh, who was connected with Ajamīḍha.

2. Pāyu Bhāradvāja, who was a contemporary of Prastoka Sārñjaya, Abhyāvartī cāyamāna and Divodāsa. This is Bh's son.

3. Bh, who taught Śatruñjaya, the king of Sauvīras (p. 224)

4. Bh, whose son was Yavakrī and who was connected with Raibhya.

The truth of the matter is this.

Bh, the brother of Dīrghatamas, is the same as Bh, the contemporary of Bharata.

According to Ai. Br. (39,9,) Dīrghatamas coronated Bharata, to whom, according to the Purāṇas Bh was given. Pargiter has taken that Bh was given as an adopted son to Bharata and therefore Bh must have been a child at the time of his adoption. This adoption must have happened long after the coronation of Bharata and since Dīrghatamas and Bh were twin brothers, Bh who was adopted by Bharata could not be the same as Bh, the brother of Dīrghatamas, who coronated Bharata.

I quote below passages relevant to the adoption of Bh.

(१) ततो मरुद्भिरानीय पुत्रस्तु स बृहस्पतेः ।

संक्रामितो भरद्वाजो मरुद्भिः कृत्तुमिर्विभुः ॥ Vy, 98, 135

भरद्वाजं ततः पुत्रं बार्हस्पत्यं मनीषिणः ॥ Vy, 98, 150

- (२) सुतेषु मातृकोपेन नष्टेषु भरतस्य च । Ag, 277, 7
ततो मरुद्भिरानीय पुत्रः स तु बृहस्पतेः ।
संक्रामितो भरद्वाजः क्रतुभिर्वितथोऽभवत् ॥ 8
स चापि वितथः पुत्रान् जनयामास पञ्च वै ।
- (३) तेन ते मरुतस्तस्य मरुत्सोमेन लुष्टुवुः ।
उपनिन्युर्भरद्वाजं पुत्रार्थं भरताय वै ॥ Mt, 49, 29
दायादोऽङ्गिरसः सुनोरौरसस्तु बृहस्पतेः ।
संक्रामितो भरद्वाजो मरुद्भिर्भरतं प्रति ॥ 30
- (४) भरतस्य पत्नीवये नव पुत्राः बभूवुः ॥ Vn, 4, 19, 14
नैते ममानुरूपा इत्यभिहितास्तन्मातरः परित्यागभयात्तत्पुत्राञ्जन्तुः । १५ ॥ ततोऽस्य वितथे
पुत्रजन्मनि पुत्रार्थिनो मरुत्सोमयाजिनो दीर्घतमसः पार्श्वपास्ताद्बृहस्पतिवीर्यादुत्पन्न्यां
ममतायां समुत्पन्नो भरद्वाजारव्यः पुत्रो मरुद्भिर्दत्तः । १६..... भरद्वाजस्य वितथे
पुत्रजन्मनि मरुद्भिर्दत्तः ततो वितथसंज्ञामवाप ॥ १९

All this means that Bh was given to Bharata as a son by the Maruts. Pargiter is supported by the Purāṇas, for Vy and Mt, later on say that the child (*śiśu*) Bh was given to Bharata. This would mean that Bh was a child when he was given to Bharata. But the same Purāṇas say that this Bh was the son of Bṛhaspati. Mt says that he was the *aurasa* son of Bṛhaspati and a descendant (*dāyāda*) of Aṅgiras. Vn is more emphatic and says that he was the son of Bṛhaspati by Mamatā and was the brother of Dirghatamas, exactly what Pargiter disapproves.

My own idea in this respect is that '*putrārtham*' in Mt is significant. It may mean that Bh was taken to Bharata for getting him a son. And this is corroborated by Harivaṃśa in very clear terms. He says

भरतस्य विनष्टेषु तनयेषु महीपतेः । 32, 13
मातृणां तात कोपेन मया ते कथितं पुरा ।
बृहस्पतेराङ्गिरसः पुत्रो राजन् महामुनिः ॥
संक्रामितो भरद्वाजो मरुद्भिः क्रतुभिर्विभुः ॥ 14
× × ×
अयाजयद् भरद्वाजो मरुद्भिः क्रतुभिर्हि तम् ।
पूर्वं तु वितथे तस्य कृते वै पुत्रजन्मनि ॥ 16
ततोऽथ वितथो नाम भरद्वाजसुतोऽभवत् ।
ततोऽथ वितथे जाते भरतस्तु दिवं ययौ ॥ 17
वितथं चाभिषिच्यथ भरद्वाजो वनं ययौ ।

For the last two lines, Mt, 49, 34 reads

ततो जाते हि वितथे भरतश्च दिवं ययौ ।
भरद्वाजो दिवं यातो ह्यभिषिच्य सुतं ऋषिः ॥

Thus Hr is very clear in saying that Bh was not given as a son to Bharata, but was an instrument of getting a son to Bharata. It is clearly said that Bh made Bharata to sacrifice and that Vitatha was the son of Bh. It may be that Vitatha was born by niyoga.

Anyhow, all this makes it very clear that there are no two Bharadvājas, as has been taken by Pargiter. Bh, who was a contemporary of Bharata was the same as Bh, the brother of Dīrghatamas.

Now I shall consider the question of other Bharadvājas postulated by Pargiter.

He has said that there was one Bharadvāja contemporary of Śatruñjaya, the king of Sauvīras. This Bh was distinct from the above Bh.

In Mbh, Śānti, 140, there is a dialogue between one Śatruñjaya, the king of Sauvīras and Bhāradvāja, not Bharadvāja. Now this king Śatruñjaya of Sauvīras was killed by Arjuna, at the time when Jayadratha was taking away Draupadī. (Mbh, Vana, 271, 27). It means that one Bhāradvāja, i.e. son of Bharadvāja was living upto the time of the abduction of Draupadī and there is nothing impossible in this. If, Droṇa, the son of Bh can live upto Mbh war, why can another son of Bh not live upto the time of the abduction of Draupadī? Thus there is no need to posit another Bh on this count.

Similarly, Pargiter has postulated another Bh, whose son was Yavakrī or Yavakrīta. In Mbh, Vana, 135, 16, occurs one Yavakrīta the son of Bh. In Mbh, Anu, 26, 6, it is said that he had gone to see Bhīṣma in his death-bed. If so, he will be of the same age as Droṇa and there is no need to posit another Bh on this count also. In Vana, 136, 19 it is said that he was killed by a Rākṣasa created by the sage Raibhya. In Vana, 135, 12-14, it is said that this Raibhya was a friend of Bharadvāja and that Raibhya had two sons named Arvāvasu and Parāvasu.

Now I feel that Raibhya here is a misreading for Rebha. Rebha Kāśyapa is the seer of RV VIII, 97. Rebhasunū Kāśyapau are the authors of RV IX, 99-100. I identify these Rebhasunū with Arvāvasu and Parāvasu, who are Raibhyau. Thus Raibhya of Mbh is Rebha of RV. This Rebha or Raibhya was a contemporary of Uparicara Vasu, (Mbh, Śānti, 336, 7) who as I will show later, was the grandfather of Jarāsandha, who was killed by Kṛṣṇa. Therefore Bh, the friend of Raibhya can well be that Bh who was the father of Droṇa. In Sabhā, 4, 10 Arvāvasu is talked of as a contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira. Thus Yavakrīta also becomes a contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira.

Considering all this, Bh, the father of Yavakrīta can be the same as Bh, the father of Droṇa and there is no need to posit another Bh.

Pargiter has talked of another Bh, who was the father of Pāyu. Now

Pāyu's father Bh, was the same as Bh, the son of Bṛhaspati. In Ṛgveda, the sixth Maṇḍala belongs to Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya. In this Maṇḍala, Pāyu Bhāradvāja is the author of 75th *sūkta*. He is also the author of IX, 87. Now about this Pāyu, Bṛhaddevatā records (V, 126) how, when Abhyāvartin Cāya-māna and Prastoka Sārñjaya were defeated by the Vāraśikha Asuras, Bh, asked his son Pāyu to sacrifice for them. Thus this Abhyāvarti, this Prastoka, this Pāyu and this Bh Bārhaspatya are all contemporaries. Thus there is no need to posit another Bh on this count also.

Pargiter has created one more Bh, who was a contemporary of Ajamiḍha. It is said in the Purāṇas that Ajamiḍha had sons 'bharadvāja-prasādena' which should mean that Bh was a contemporary of Ajamiḍha.

Now most of the Purāṇas put Ajamiḍha Purumiḍha and Dvimiḍha as the sons of Hastin. But in Mbh, I, 94, Ajamiḍha and Purumiḍha are called to be the sons of Suhotra. There is some confusion in the Purāṇa-texts at this stage and I think that the evidence of Mbh is more trustworthy, particularly as it is corroborated by the Ṛgveda anukramanī.

In RV, there are two authors named Ajamiḍha Sauhotrā (IV, 43-44) and Purumiḍha Sauhotrā (IV, 43-44). One Suhotra Āṅgīrasa is the author of RV, VI, 31-32. This Suhotra is the brother of Śunahotra Āṅgīrasa, the father of Gṛtsamada. In my 'Date of Ṛgveda', I have shown that Gṛtsamada was a contemporary of Divodāsa and therefore of Bh Bārhaspatya. Thus Ajamiḍha the son of Suhotra, the uncle of Gṛtsamada, also was the contemporary of Bh. Bārhaspatya and therefore there is no need of positing any other Bh.

Thus there has been only one Bh, the son of Bṛhaspati and grandson of Āṅgīras. And it has been more than amply demonstrated above that this Bh was the father of Droṇa and thus the distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa is reduced just to one generation.

Following synchronisms fully support this conclusion.

Vaśiṣṭha-Dvaipāyana

Rām 1, 6, 4 says: ऋत्विजौ द्वावभिमतौ वसिष्ठो वामदेवश्च. Thus Vaśiṣṭha was a priest of Daśaratha. All our tradition knows this.

Vaśiṣṭha had a son named Śakti and Sakti had son named Parāśara. All these three are Ṛgvedic seers thus.

Vaśiṣṭha: RV-VII, 1-31; 33, 1-9; 34-104; IX, 67, 19-21; 90; 97, 1-37.

Śakti Vaśiṣṭha: RV. VII, 31, 26-27; IX, 97, 19-21; 108, 3; 14-16.

Parāśara Śāktya: RV. 1, 65-67; IX, 97, 31-44.

Thus it is certain that Vaśiṣṭha had a son named Śakti, whose son was Parāśara. This Parāśara had a son named Dvaipāyana, who was the progenitor

of Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra. (Mbh, Ādi, 63, 86). This Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa is supposed to be the author of Mbh.

This means that Vaśiṣṭha was a contemporary of Daśaratha and Rāma and his great grandson was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa. This shows that distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was not much.

Śakuni-Gāndhārī

Mbh I, 57, 93 BORI gives the geneology of Śakuni thus.

प्रह्लादशिष्यो नम्रजित्सुबलश्चाभततः ।

तस्य प्रजा धर्महन्त्री जज्ञे देवप्रकोपनात् ॥

गान्धारराजपुत्रोऽभूच्छकुनिः सौबलस्तथा ।

दुर्योधनस्य माता च जज्ञातेऽर्थविदावुभौ ॥

Thus Śakuni's grandfather was Nagnajit. He is called a Daitya in Mbh. I, 63, 11. It is said here that he was a pupil of Prahlāda. Prahlāda was a Daitya being the son of Hiranyakaśipu. Now Prahlād's grandson was Bali whose grand-daughter was married to Kumbhakarna, the brother of Rāvaṇa as is clearly said in Rām. VII. 12, 23. If we take Nagnajit, who was a pupil of Prahlāda to be at the same step as Bali, his grandson Śakuni will be one generation lower than Rāvaṇa and Rāma.

Jarāsandha

In Mbh. II, 17, it is said that Jarāsandha was the son of Bṛhadratha. This Bṛhadratha had no son and he got Jarāsandha by the favour of a sage named Caṇḍakaśika, who is called the son of Kakṣivat—Mbh. II, 17, 22 says :

अथ कक्षीवतः पुत्रं गौतमस्य महात्मनः ।

शुश्राव तपसि श्रान्तमुदारं चण्डकौशिकम् ॥ २२ ॥

This Caṇḍakaśika, thus was the son of Kakṣivat who was the son of Gautama i.e. Dīrghatamas, who was the brother of Bharadvāja.

Thus Bṛhadratha will be a contemporary of Caṇḍakaśika, the grandson of Dīrghatamas and Jarāsandha was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa.

Again, it is said that the father of Bṛhadratha was Vasu (Uparicara). See Mbh. I, 63, 30-1. This Vasu had a daughter named Matsyagandhā (See Mbh. I, 63, 58-61), who, by Parāsara had Dvaipāyana Vyāsa.

This also reduces the distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa to one generation or two.

Dvivida and Mainda

Dvivida and Mainda were two Vānara brothers. About their birth it is said in Rām. I, 17, 14 :

रूपद्रविणसंपन्नावश्विनौ रूपसंमिता ।

मैन्दं च द्विविदं चैव जनयासासतुः स्वयम् ॥

Both these were two brothers of Tārā, the wife of Vāli and then of Sugrīva. (Rām VI, 76). They were included in the party of the Vānaras who went in search of Sītā in the South. (Rām IV, 41).

Thus both these are connected with the days of Rāma.

Now Bhāgavata says that this Dvidida once attacked Raivataka mountain, where Balarāma was resting. A fight ensued between the two, in which Dvidida was killed (Bg. X, 67, 25).

In Bhāgavata X, 36, 35 Kāṁsa says:

जरासन्धो मम गुरुर्द्विविदो दयितः सखा ।

This means that Dvidida was a friend of Kāṁsa.

Bg X, 67, 2 says

नरकस्य सखा कश्चिद् द्विविदो नाम वानरः ।

सुग्रीवसखः सोऽपि भ्राता मैन्दस्य वीर्यवान् ॥

All this means that Dvidida was a friend of Sugrīva, Naraka and Kāṁsa and also that he was a contemporary of Balarāma. I shall, later, suggest that Naraka, too, lived in the days of Rāma and of Kṛṣṇa.

Mainda, too, is said to be a friend of Kāṁsa. (Bg. X, 2, 23).

This means that both these Dvidida and Mainda were long-lived. It is said in Rām, VII, 108, 33

जाम्बवन्तं तथोक्त्वा तु वृद्धं ब्रह्मसुतं तदा ।

मैन्दं च द्विविदं चैव पञ्च जाम्बवता सह ।

यावत्कलिश्च संप्राप्तस्तावज्जीवत सर्वदा ॥

Commentators Tilaka and others are unanimous in saying that the five are: Jāmbavān, Hanumān, Vibhīṣaṇa, Mainda and Dvidida. According to this, these five lived upto the beginning of Kali and Kaliyuga started at the death of Kṛṣṇa or at the Mbh. war.

This reduces the distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa to a generation or two.

Narakāsura

We have just seen that according to Bg X, 67, 2, Dvidida was a friend of Naraka. This puts Naraka in the days of Rāma.

According to Kālikā Purāṇa (Adhyāyas 37-41), Naraka was the son of Bhūmi and was brought up by Janaka of Videha country. I have interpreted (See my book 'The Puranic Chronology pp. 225 ff) this to mean that Naraka was Janaka's son by a nurse named Bhūmi. This connects Naraka with Janaka and therefore with Rāma's days.

This Naraka was killed by Kṛṣṇa (Hr. II, 63; Bg X, 59.)

According to Mbh. (II, 26, 8), when Arjuna went for his *digvijaya* before their *Rājasūya* sacrifice, Bhagadatta was ruling at Prāgyotiṣṭhura. Bhagadatta came on the throne after Naraka's death. That is Naraka was killed by Kṛṣṇa before the *Rājasūya* of the Pāṇḍavas, which was performed soon after their marriage with Draupadī.

Naraka had a friend named Bāṇāsura (Kālikā Purāṇa 40-41). This Bāṇa was the father of Uṣā, who married Aniruddha, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa. Bāṇa was the son of Bali (Bg X, 62.), whose grand-daughter was married to Kumbhakarṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa (Rām. VII, 12, 23). This supports that Naraka was connected with the days of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa both, as was Bāṇāsura.

Hanumān

Hanumāna, as is well-known, is connected with Rāma.

In Mbh (III, 146-8) a meeting with Hanumāna and Bhīma is described. It is said there by Bhīma to Hanumāna.

एतत्कलियुगं नाम अचिरात् प्रवर्तते *v.l.* प्रतिपत्स्यते ।

Hanumāna is thus connected with the days of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa both. He was a *cirañjīvī*.

Mārkaṇḍeya

In Mbh. (Vana, 25,9) it is said that Mārkaṇḍeya came to see Yudhiṣṭhira in the Dvaitavana. Mārkaṇḍeya said to Yudhiṣṭhira

स चापि राजा सह लक्ष्मणेन

वने निवासं पितुरेव शासनात् ।

धन्वी चरन्वार्थं मयैव दृष्टो

गिरिः पुरा ऋष्यमूकस्य सानौ ॥ Vana, 25, 9

This means that Mārkaṇḍeya was a contemporary of Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira both. He says to Yudhiṣṭhira that he had himself seen Rāma on the mountain Ṛṣyamūka.

Mārkaṇḍeya is considered *cirañjīvī*.

Ghora Āṅgīrasa

Ghora Āṅgīrasa is a sage who composed RV III, 36, 10. He is a joint author of this hymn with Viśvāmitra Gāthinaḥ, i.e. Viśvāmitra, the son of Gāthi or Gāthi. Joint authors in RV are always contemporary as I have shown in my book 'Date of Ṛgveda'. Thus Ghora being a contemporary of Viśvāmitra was also a contemporary of Rāma.

Kaṇva, the author of RV I, 36-43; IX, 94 is called Ghaura i.e. the son of Ghora. Again Pragātha Kāṇva is the author of RV VIII, 1, 1-2; 10, 48; 62-65. About him Sāyaṇa (on VIII, 1) says that he was the son of Ghora Āṅgīrasa

and thus was a Younger brother of Kaṇva ; but as Kaṇva, later, adopted him, he *i.e.* Pragātha came to be known as Kāṇva. Now this Pragātha says (RV VIII, 65, 12) that he received gifts from the son of Durgaha *i.e.* Purukutsa or Trasadasyu. As I have shown in my 'Date of Ṛgveda' Purukutsa and Trasadasyu lived in the days of Rāma. (See Māndhātā—under Mucukunda). Therefore Pragātha and his father Ghora Āṅgīrasa lived in the days of Rāma.

Now, it is said in Chāndogya Upaniṣad (III, 17, 6) that Ghora Āṅgīrasa was the teacher of Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa. It should be, now, clear that Ghora Āṅgīrasa, the teacher of Kṛṣṇa is the same as Ghora Āṅgīrasa, the Ṛgvedic seer. If we do not concede this, we will have to say that there was another Ghora Āṅgīrasa, which is not warranted by any source.

I, therefore, take Ghora Āṅgīrasa of the RV to be the same as the teacher of Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa *i.e.* our Kṛṣṇa.

Thus Ghora Āṅgīrasa is connected with the days of of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa both.

Mucukunda

Bg X, 57, 32 gives the story of Kāla Yavana, in which Mucukunda figures. Mucukunda says to Kṛṣṇa

वयं तु पुरुषव्याघ्र ऐक्ष्वाकाः क्षत्रबन्धवः ।

मुचुकुन्द इति प्रोक्तो यौवनाश्वामजः प्रभो ॥ ३२ ॥

This means that Mucukunda was the son of Yauvanāśva Māndhātā. In my 'Date of Ṛgveda' I have shown that Māndhātā was almost a contemporary of Rāma, being killed by Lavaṇa, who was killed by Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma (Rām VII, 60,). Thus Mucukunda who was a contemporary of Rāma, was also a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa. Mucukunda met Kṛṣṇa, when he himself was very old and when Kṛṣṇa was just entering his youth.

Mayāsura

Rām. VII, 12 says that Mayāsura had by Hemā two sons named Māyāvi and Dundubhi and a daughter named Mandodarī, who was married to Rāvaṇa. Both Māyāvi and Dundubhi were killed by Vāli (see Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa).

Thus Mayāsura lived in the days of Rāma.

Now in Mbh I, 228, it is said that Arjuna had protected Mayāsura in the *Khāṇḍavavana*. He gave a conch named *Devadatta* to Arjuna and a mace (of the time of Vṛṣaparvā) to Bhīma. He later retired to *Bindusarovara* (Mbh, Sabhā, 3).

Thus Mayāsura is connected with the days of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

Bhīṣma

Bhīṣma is the great hero of the Mbh. He is also connected with Rāma's days.

1. He fought with Paraśurāma (Mbh. I, 61, 69-70).
2. Bhīṣma met Pulastya who gave him *tīrthavarṇana*. (Mbh., Vana, 81-2). Pulastya was Rāvaṇa's grandfather.
3. Gaṅgā put him under Vasiṣṭha for studies (Mbh. I, 100). Then she put him under Paraśurāma (Mbh. I, 100).

Paraśurāma

Paraśurāma is connected with Rāma. He is also connected with Kṛṣṇa's days.

- (1) He fought with Bhīṣma (Mbh. I, 61, 69-70).
 - (2) Droṇa had met Paraśurāma (Mbh. I, 121, 16-17).
 - (3) Paraśurāma taught Karṇa.
- He is also considered a *cirañjīvī*.

Śaṅkhaṇa

Mbh. Vana, 192, 3 has a story that there was a king named Parikṣit of the Ikṣvāku family. Parikṣit had three sons named Śala, Bala and Dala. Śala went for a hunt and asked the charioteer to drive to the *āśrama* of Vāmadeva (192). Both Śala and Dala quarrelled with Vāmadeva. Vāmadeva was Daśaratha's priest (Rām. I, 6, 4.).

Śala's son was Vajranābhā, whose son was Śaṅkhaṇa, who was killed in the Mbh. war.

Thus Śala is connected with both the periods.

All this should convince us that distance in time between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was very small. In several cases we find one individual connected with both the periods.

Dvidida, Mainda, Naraka, Paraśurāma, Hanumāna, Ghora Āṅgīrasa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Mucukunda, Mayāsura—all these are connected personally with both the periods ; but all these are connected with incidents before the Mbh. war.

Dvidida and Mainda both were personally connected with Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa died when Kṛṣṇa was just entering youth. Naraka who was the son of Janaka, the father-in-law of Rāma was killed by Kṛṣṇa himself, but before the Rājāsūya of the Pāṇḍavas. Paraśurama came in contact with Bhīṣma and Karṇa when both of them were students. Hanumāna who was Rama's friend saw Bhīṣma, when the Pāṇḍavas were in exile. Ghora Āṅgīrasa taught Kṛṣṇa in his student-hood. Mārkaṇḍeya, who saw Rāma on the R̥ṣyamūka, talked to Yudhiṣṭhira, when they were in exile. Mucukunda met Kṛṣṇa, just when they were settling at Dvārakā. And Mayāsura was saved by Arjuna in Khāṇḍavavana before Kṛṣṇa killed Jarāsandha.

All this leaves no doubt in my mind that distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was hardly about a hundred years.

✓ PREHISTORIC FOUNDATIONS OF RAJASTHAN

By

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Rajasthan, an area of great isolation, due to dessication and its rugged character, has been a wonderland of valour, heroism, blood, toils and tears; which it shed in the wake of Muslim occupation. When the celebrated cities and sites of classic Indian civilization lay under the heels of fanatic conquerors, this little and close knit area, defied the might of Islam and its heterogeneous hordes for centuries; and what is more re-erected new hearth and homes, over the rubble and shambles of repeated invasions and smouldering ashes of their cherished ones. Nonetheless, its ancient history is not accurately known, still less its pre-history, which archaeological discipline has recently garnered. Researches carried out since 1946, have brought to light a mass of evidence. But the whole mosaic of cultural history is not yet known, for the simple reason that majority of the pieces are still eluding our search. Nevertheless, they present a picturesque kaleidoscope.

Geographically and culturally, Rajasthan is divisible into two parts. The dividing barrier provided by nature being the Aravallis; which separates the semi-arid western Rajasthan, from the comparatively more humid and fertile region on the south-east. This great tract which has been a *cul de sac* for milleniums was once fertile and smiling; but, in an extreme stage of dessication now stretches with apparent indefiniteness over the heart of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Level plains of smooth sand of light buff colour and blood red earth mixed with nodular stones are interrupted only by rocks, with peaks, points, glens and wolds; black, stark and shapeless, which have suffered air denudation throughout the ages. Rainless storms tirelessly dances over the hot parched land, generating heat and creating mirages. The fine granular sands, which once lay on a sea bottom, driven by wind, gather into deep drifts amongst the rocks, nestles in crevices, form into dunes with irregular wavy formations, like ripples in a lake or river. The earth burns and the rocks burn with the unquenched thirst of aeons, over which the steel blue sky continues to hurl hot rays like molten steel. Even the rivers have long dried up making the Thar indeed a formidable barrier to be overcome before the age of machines. On the south and south-east, flow seasonal rivers, mightiest of whom is the Cambal, having cut a gorge through granite. The others are Banas, Berach, Gambira and Wagan, just like silken threads drawn across an enormous brown druggel. Even these threads are brown for half the year, the rich water lapping their banks creates belts of vegetation, thereby introducing a contrast with the end-

less barrenness. In further contrast are the scrub jungles which spring everywhere along with the inhospitable thorn bushes, wherever there is moisture.

Pre-history, which is a handmaiden of archaeological discipline, may lack the subtle interplay of human personalities and circumstances and therefore the romanticism of the historical archaeologist. But it has rather to confront transformations of altogether gigantic proportions, than those with which the historians of literate civilizations are concerned. At the same time, they have to face demands of historical imagination; and to cope with the colossus strides of historical geology, to establish a firm base for chronology. Geologists have pointed out that in Permo-Carboniferous times (Palaeozoic), the present Indus valley, Cutch, Kathiawad, Gujarat, valleys of the Dṛṣadvatī and Sarasvatī and major portion of Rajasthan were covered by a sea; an arm of which possibly extended up to Umariā region in Madhya Pradesh. It is presumed that this continued till Jurassic age. In early Cretaceous, there was regression, but in late Cretaceous there was again transgression. This state of affairs continued till Eocene times. Accurate data about Rajasthan in Upper Tertiary times is lacking; but by this period Himalayas which had originally remained submerged and were rising gradually, came into prominence. From Miocene or Pliocene times (in Cainozoic age) the sea receded to the "Foredeep".¹ It was from this period that the present physiographic features of Rajasthan became permanent. Then came the series of glaciations; while the interglacials were in all probability pluvial. It is therefore clear that old stone age could not have commenced before 1,00,000 years ago.

One of the unresolved problems of Indian pre-history in general and pre-historic past of Rajasthan in particular is the lack of well authenticated data about climatic changes. Next comes studies in pleistocene geology. For example there is complete absence of co-ordination between the Himalayan glaciation and the well investigated peninsular pluvial cycles, and the integration of the links into a well established all India scheme.² In fact, after the Himalayas emerged from the sea in pleistocene and Aravallis subsided, disturbing the rainfall distribution, there were at least five glaciations in northern India, divided by four interglacials is well-known. But, exactly what climate influence these exerted on Rajasthan has yet to be established. Next are the well investigated climatological changes worked out and consequent geo-physical changes in the African and Asian continents.

(1) From c. 18,000 B.C. to c. 11,000 B.C.. Atlantic cyclones moved

¹ M. S. Krishna—Geological History of Rajasthan & its relation to present day conditions—*Bulletins of National Institute of Sciences of India*, No. 1, p. 19 ff.

² De Terra and Peterson—*Studies on the Ice Ages and Associated Human Cultures*, 1939, pp. 310-13.

across North Africa, S. W. Asia, Sahara., Arabia, and the Iranian areas that are deserts to-day and were then well watered and fertile. This was due to the pressure of cold wind over Europe during the Ice ages. It also compelled the Atlantic rainstorms to travel east, so that, the whole area from west coast of Africa to the Persian mountains and north western India was a continuous belt of parks and grasslands.¹

(2) From c. 11,800 B.C. to c. 6,800 B.C., the temperature rose gradually. North Africa, Arabia and Sind were still passing through pluvial epochs and consequently fertile. We may not be wrong in assuming that Rajasthan in the neighbourhood of Sind also shared the advantages of this pluvial epoch.

(3) Then came the Pre-Boreal phase commencing from c. 8,300 B.C. and Boreal phase (c. 6,800 B.C. to c. 5,600 B.C.) from which period, North Africa and S.W. Asia underwent dessication. In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, Mekran, Baluchistan (ancient Sauvira) and Sind commenced to loose their grasslands, resulting in migrations to more fertile areas.

(4) The Atlantic phase from (c. 5,600 B.C. to c. 2,500 B.C.), intensified the process of dessication, evolving the Sahara, Kalahari, the Arabian deserts, Makran, Sind and the Thar desert in Africa and Asia.

(5) Between c. 2,500 B.C., and c. 1000 B.C. the desert conditions became permanent features in North Africa, S.W. Asia, Pakistan and Western India. This is probably one of the reasons of the internal decay of the Harappa civilization to which final *coup de grac* was given by invading alien tribes.

(6) Another natural cataclysm was the shifting of the cyclonic storm belt from N. Africa, Arabia, Pakistan and Western India to its present course i.e. north of the Alps, the Caspian sea and Gobi desert.²

M. Gosta Ericsson, while accompanying the Swedish Archaeological Expedition, has made useful contribution about the Pleistocene geology of Rajasthan. It is a fact that at the end of the Ice Age, Rajasthan along with its neighbours in the north and west enjoyed a pluvial period. The subsequent

¹ H. Frankfort—*The Birth of Civilization in the Near East*. London. 1959, p. 33.

² G. de Geer—'A Geochronology of the last 2000 years'—*Proceedings of the International Geological Congress*, 1910, pp. 241-47. On the determination of geochronology by study of laminated deposits cf. *Science*, Vol. 52 (1910), pp. 502-03. F. B. Zeuner—*Dating of the Past*, 1958, pp. 20-45. W. G. Kendrew—*Climate and Continents*, 1937. G. E. Pomphret—*Geographical Patterns of Mankind*, 1935. L. W. Lyde—*The Continent of Asia*, 1933. Harlowe Shapely—*Climatic Changes*, 1935. N. K. Bose—*Correlations of the Glacial and Inter-glacial Periods with the Wet and Dry Phases—Man in India*, Vol. 37, pp. 149-156.

changes that took place were gradual lessening of rainfall, consequent drying up of lakes and rivers, and a more dry climate. The structural elements were mud-flats and Eolian sands, at least in old Bikaner region.¹

There are also circumstantial evidences that Rajasthan once possessed a more salubrious climate. When glaciation and inter-glaciation existed in the Himalayas and Siwaliks, they must have exercised a corresponding influence on Rajasthan. Rainfall was probably greater with plenty of flora and fauna. Next comes the influence of Atlantic cyclones (c. 18,000-11,000 B.C.). Then there was the earlier course of the cyclonic belt, which passed over Arabia, Africa, Iran, W. Baluchistan and Western India, which must have been responsible for a more humid, fertile and green Rajasthan. Because the soil of Rajasthan is merely the continuation of the Ganges alluvium. Glyptic art of the Indus Valley acquaints us with the fact that fish eating crocodiles, tigers, rhinoceros, buffaloes, elephants etc. once thrived in the dessicated Indus valley of our days; which presupposes that climatic conditions in the neighbouring Rajasthan could not have been different.

Similar evidence is available about many tracts in Africa and Asian continents. Henri Frankfort has pointed out that due to southerly route taken by the Atlantic rain storms, which then passed over Algeria and southern Tripolitania, the hunters of the old stone age resided there and incised figures of buffaloes, elephants, giraffes on rocks now surrounded for hundreds of miles by an arid waste.² The next example is modern Libya, which was full of vineyards, olive trees and cattle till the end of the 2nd millenium B.C. A conclusion, which receives support from the records of booty taken by a Pharaoh of the First dynasty, by Sahure (c. 2475 B.C.) of the Fifth dynasty. He carried away 200,000 each of asses, sheep and goats. Rameses III (c. 1175 B.C.) took away 3,600 heads of cattle in addition to horses, asses, sheep and goats etc.³ Nevertheless, the progressive dessication turned the area into a desert very soon. The third example is the result of the explorations carried out by Prof. Paolo Graziosi in Sahara. "He found silica tools in quite large quantities, spread over huge areas of rocky or sandy ground, where there is not the slightest trace of vegetation." He found in graffitis the hipopotamus, buffaloes, elephants, rhinoceros, giraffes, antelopes and crocodiles, none of which are available in Sahara now. But camels, whose representations are not met with in the glyptic

¹ Dr. (Mrs.) H. Rydh—*Rang Mahal*, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Lund, 1959, pp. 1-2, 14-37, 33 and 43-63.

² H. Frankfort—*op.cit.*, p. 33.

³ J. Capart—*Primitive Art in Egypt*, pp. 236-37; figs. 175-76; L. Bochardt—*Das Grabduckmal des Königs Sahure*, Leipzig, 1913, and other references quoted by H. Frankfort in *op.cit.*, p. 34, footnotes 1-4.

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art of the Harrappa culture, occur in later rock carvings of Sahara. Prof. Graziosi's conclusions are that in Sahara where no form of life can exist today, in the very distant past, different climate prevailed. That is, milleniums ago, Sahara, now a desert, was a fertile region, alternating with arid periods coeval with the glacials and interglacials in Europe¹. If glacials or interglacials in Europe could influence the climatic conditions in Sahara, then what would be the influence of the same in the Himalayas on Rajasthan? This is my first hypothesis.

Let us now turn to the geographical side, a bird's eye view of which has already been given. Geographically Rajasthan is easily divisible into two divisions, each of which can be subdivided into well knit zones. The dividing barrier as provided by nature is the celebrated Aravallis, which intersects Rajasthan from one end to another. The first are the south-west and north-west running ranges which end north of Bharatpur. Then there are the eastern and southern zones. It is against this climatological, geophysical background that we have to reconstruct the life in Rajasthan in Old Stone Age. To give edge and precision to the above objective, the investigator would require fine, accurate and unimpeachable evidence; while our materials are poor, fragmentary, inadequate and controversial. A survey of the river valleys without any intensive excavations has been accomplished. The deposits on river banks have been studied without any attempt at dating the past. Lastly, no skeletal remains of anthropoid apes or primitive man have been found to enable us to establish his physical, pathological and cultural association. The credit of collecting first old stone age tools from Rajasthan goes to C. A. Hackett, an officer of the Geological Survey of India. These were from Jaipur, Bundi and Indargarh². Unfortunately, however, no details are available. Since 1953-54, investigations have been taken up in earnest. This year's finds consisted of choppers, handaxes, cleavers and so-called Clactonian flakes from the beds of the rivers Gambhira, Berach, the two canals near Singoli, the slopes near the village of Sonita.³ Next year, several other sites like Bichore, Haripura on the Bamani, Rathanja and Sigoh near Nimabhera, Tajpura and Dhangadman were traced. The last named yielded pebble tools and pear shaped hand-axes showing controlled flaking comparable with Abbeville-Levalloisian and Acheulian industries.⁴ In the working season of 1956-57, two old stone age sites were put on the map near Chitorgarh. They yielded Hand-axes, Choppers, Cleavers,

¹ Press Communique in *Searchlight*, dated the 20th June, 1962.

² J. C. Brown—*Catalogue of Pre-historic Antiquities in Indian Museum. Calcutta*. Simla. 1917. pp. 66-67. pl.V.

³ *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1953-54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1954-55, pp. 58 ff.

Scrapers. A double pointed hand-axe was also found. A *nālā* joining Berach near Nagari supplied an ovate, cleavers and scrapers.¹ Sri K. V. Sounderarajan found a site near Bhangarh in Alwar district containing Madrasian hand-axes. Two stone age sites were traced between Chitorgarh and Menal in 1957-58. A *nālā* near Bichore yielded tools recalling Acheul industries. Samaria no.1 also contributed a fine hand-axe with Acheul technique, ovates and cleavers.²

In the year 1958-59, Sri V. N. Misra of the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona, carried out explorations in districts of Ajmer, Barmer, Jodhpur, Marwar, Chitorgarh, Bhilwara and Tonk in the valleys of Luni, Guhiya, Razia etc. (in Marwar), Sagarmati (in Ajmere), Banas (in Bhilwara and Tonk). Tools of Series I were found at Luni, Singari and Pali in Marwar, Govindgarh in Ajmer district; but tools of Series II were confined to sites in western Rajasthan. Sites in Bhilwara and Tonk yielded huge pebble cores, scrapers, choppers, hand-axes, cleavers and clactorian flakes.³

It would have been better if a consolidated map showing distribution of sites and tools accompanied this paper. But, it was probably rightly felt that in the present state of our knowledge such maps would be misleading. What it would show is not distribution or diffusion, but, the distinction between the well studied and virtually unexplored areas.

Typology

It is quite clear that the tools found in the various assemblages in Rajasthan belong to two different lithic traditions. Those are flake or chopper tools and the core tools. The so-called Sohan, anglicized into 'Soan', is a pebble as well as flake industry. About this we will have our points discussed in the next section. In the meantime we may note that core tool is an industry which fabricated a tool by chipping out a number of flakes from a nodule of flint or a river pebble in order to fashion them. At Bhangarh in Rajasthan, K. V. Soundararajan has found a factory site, where the tools found are of medium to large size, varied and prolific. There are tools in various stages of manufacture. To this group belongs the Madrasian hand-axe industry, because, they were first met with in the former Madras Presidency. The tools are pear shaped or oval, flaked on both sides so as to produce a continuous cutting edge. The tool assemblages of Rajasthan betray four types of chipping:—Clactonian, derived from a place named Clacton in County Essex in United Kingdom, Abbevillian, the Levallois techniques and finally the Acheul being those of best Indian stone axes. Cleavers also belong to this age.

¹ *Ibid.*, 1956-57, pp. 5 ff. and 62 f.

² *Ibid.*, 1957-58, pp. 45-46.

³ *Ibid.*, 1958-59, pp. 42-43.

A flake tool on the other hand would be a tool which was made out of any flake. In India they belong to the Punjab or Sohan culture, originally traced by De Terra and Paterson. Shri S. P. Srivastava is undoubtedly wrong when he states that they are confined to a series of 'localities in the valley of the Soan, and the Indus, in Poonch near Jhelum and in Salt Range'.¹ Investigations carried out in the Sohan valley or Potwar region of the Rawalpindi district by the Yale-Cambridge expedition have proved that the terraces cut by the rivers in the materials deposited during the interglacial periods contained crude lithic tools of various stages along with bones of *Elephas Namadicus*. The earliest called 'Pre Sohan' have been co-related with the moraines of the IIInd glaciation, in Middle Pliocene, in the huge boulder beds. The next group called 'Early Sohan' found in Terrace I belongs to the IIInd interglaciation and has been classified into three groups into which hand-axes with Levallois technique occur. The succeeding industry has been called 'Late Sohan' choppers found in the Terrace II formed during IIIrd glaciation.² Recently their authenticity has been questioned.³

Diffusion

Potwar region with the whole of Rawalpindi district having acceded to Pakistan, that part of Pan Indian heritage was lost. It posed a challenge to the Indian archaeologists, which they were not slow to take up; thereby filling up the hiatuses created in the archaeological history of the Indian sub-continent by political jugglery. That heroic and determined struggle of few patriotic Indian archaeologists that *Bhāratavarṣa* should remain on the map of pre-history, against heavy odds, and who ultimately succeeded in bridging the gulfs and chasms, will probably be related in the second centenary of the 'Survey' in the next century. We are too near the events to be considered unprejudiced. These were a detailed and co-ordinated study of the terraces and their structures in the Banganga valley and that of the Beas in Kangra district.⁴ First blood was drawn by Olaf Prufer, who reported find of Sohan tools in the valley of the Sirsa, a tributary of the Sutlej near Nalagarh. Prof. D. Sen visited the area and published a short report.⁵ They were followed by Y. D. Sharma, who traced Late Sohan sites at Dhar, Majra, Dhang, Dadhi, Merhan-

¹ Rajasthan—A prehistoric Review—*The Researcher*, Winter Number, Vol. II, pp. 25ff.

² De Terra and Peterson—*op. cit.*, pp. 311-312.

³ K. P. Oakley—Tools Makyth Man. *Antiquity*. No. 124. 1957, p. 203.

⁴ Palaeoliths from Beas and Banganga valleys etc.—*Ancient India*, No. 12, 58.

⁵ D. Sen—'Man in India,' Vol. XXXV, pp. 176 ff.

walla and Daulatpur in Hoshiarpur district.¹ Next came explorations in Rajasthan and Mirzapur district which established that the so-called Sohan industries were not confined to the Himalayas or the Siwaliks. Before these momentous happenings, De Terra had proved that the two types of lithic tools were found in the Narmada valley. V. D. Krishnaswamy also pointed out that similar was the case in the Sabarmati valley round about Vijapur and Pedhamli. Outside India, similar tools have been found at various regions in the Asian and African continents.

The palaeolithic industry discussed above has a predominance of 'choppers' and 'chopping tools';² and we have applied the term 'Sohan' indiscriminately for pebble tools in general. But cores and flakes also form a part of the same complex as we shall see in the next paragraph while discussing their diffusion in India. The picture of a strong, indigenous and well developed pebble-flake culture has been made more interesting by the find of rolled; and in many cases derived tool specimens such as bifacial hand-axes and cleavers etc., along with Early and Late Sohan industries. But no actual stratigraphic data establishing sequence were found there. Just like Rajasthani specimens, they were of Abbevillian and Acheulian forms. However their location immediately below the loessic formation of the third glaciation and the boulder conglomerate enabled them to hazard a dating as the 'Early' second interglacial in the Cis-Himalayan region. In Asia, the Anyathinian culture of Burma, the Choukoutienian culture of China, the Tampanian culture of Malaya, the Patjitanian culture of Java, are wholly or largely dominated by chopper-chopping tools, there being, however, some hand-axes in the last named culture. The pebble tools occur in the pre Stellenbosch, early Oldowan and Kafuan stages in south and east Africa. Let us now make a survey in India.

A scrutiny of finds in the Nalagarh-Daulatpur-Dehra-Guler area establishes, that they represent a stage, when chopper-chopping tool makers had not come into contact with 'Hand-axe' people. In the Potwar region both these industries occur in Terrace I, ascribed to the great interglacial. While majority of the sites in the Indus valley show the predominance of the chopper-chopping tools; at Chauntra, the bifacial industry was the outstanding one. In Rajasthan, according to M. N. Deshpande, majority belongs to the hand-axe industry. In Singrauli basin of Mirzapur district 15 per cent belongs to the Sohan industry.³ The scene in the Central Indian plateau too is extremely in-

¹ *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55, p. 58.

² H. L. Morius (Jr.)—Pebble Tool Terminology in India and Pakistan—*Man in India*, vol. 37 (1957), pp. 149-156.

³ V. D. Krishnaswamy and K. V. Soundararajan in *Ancient India*, no. 7, pp. 40 ff.

teresting. Almost 20 per cent of tools in the Hoshangabad and Narsingpur area in the Narmada valley belongs to the chopper-chopping tools series. In the Rewa-Panna area, in the valleys of the rivers Son and Ken, the lower gravels contain predominantly Abbevillian and Acheulian tools. Bariarpur has a pebble facie and a flake scraper assemblage in the second gravel. The chopper-chopping tool industry commenced to decrease south of the Narmada-Tapi valleys. Godavari valley does not contain them and Todd did not meet with them in Bombay-Khandavili region. The studies of Messrs. H. D. Sankalia, Subba Rao and Joshi have failed to find any choppers in Karnatak.² In the Nellore district of Andhra some choppers have been found. These are practically absent in the Vadumadurai and Attirampakkam. Explorations in Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar districts have failed to yield any chopper-chopping tools. But Giddalur region has yielded a few. It is clear, therefore, that the chopper-chopping tools enjoy a practical monopoly, in sub-Himalayan region; they decrease as we approach the great Vindhyas and are completely absent in many peninsular sites, with the exception of those doubtful specimens at Vadumadurai and Attirampakkam which are supposed to betray Sohan technique. In Mirzapur or Singrauli basin, Sabarmati, Mahi, Narmada and Burhabalang valleys, they are found in a minority. Therefore, whatever might be the future consensus, its epicentre was probably in the north, *most probably* in Rajasthan, and dispersed via the 'Karnal Gap' on one hand to north west, when extreme glaciation had given place to interglacials; while others migrated to south through Central India. The same problem that we have to face in connection with the Black and Red and Black on Red wares in proto-historic times. This is my second hypothesis.

Technology

We have discussed the types and studied the diffusion. It now remains to assess the significance of the various tools from technological point. Do they show any progression? In Lower Palaeolithic India, what did these lithic tools stand for, with particular reference to Rajasthan? What are the implications of Clactonian, Abbevillian, Levallois and Acheul techniques; since they were found in assemblages revealing very little stratigraphic evidence? What did the *Pithecanthropus* and ape men of allied stocks do, to take those immense strides which produced the modern civilization, tens of thousands years later? The chopper-chopping tools with a high proportion of flakes, extended as far as Europe. To a certain degree they can be equated with 'Eoliths'. In various parts of the African and Asian continents, they were made of local stones such as pebbles of lava, quartz and quartzite by the authors of Kafuan culture. In

² Studies in the Prehistory of Karnatak, *Bulletins of the Deccan College Institute*, vol. xii, no. 1, pp. 56ff.

the Oldwan culture the pebbles were more rounded and consisted of the identical cutting, chopping and scraping tools. The chopper in India is a large scraper like object, made on a core, rather than on a flake. It is chipped on one side only. The chopping tools are also made of a core or a chunk of stone and has a single cutting edge due to chipping from both sides. The Clactonian on the other hand was predominantly a flake industry, with a plain striking 'platform' at a high angle, with a large bulb of percussion. The method was to strike off flakes, possibly on a fixed anvil stone, which led to a very distinctive bulb of percussion. The base was plain, unlike the Levallois. In Europe, these edges were often retouched all around the edges, to make scrapers and knives.¹ The Abbevillian-Acheulian industry is another pebble culture, though flakes were also rarely used, to prove possibly that exception proves the rule. The tools are of two types: hand-axe and side scrapers. The former is pointed at one end and broad on the other. The edges have a zigzag form while the Acheulian technique endowed them with straight edges. The cleaver is another product of this culture found only in India and Africa. The Levalloisian industry is remarkable for what is called 'tortoise-core technique'. They are found all over Europe, Asia and Africa. According to Jacquetta Hawkes: "The latest Soans, living during the Riss glaciation and the succeeding worm phase possessed a culture which approached very closely indeed to the European Levalloisian, a development which is not found among other chopping tool cultures and which must surely be due to *western influences*"² (?). The tools are cutting or side scrapers developed possibly from Abbevillian-Acheul cultures. The cores are often of very large sizes. The bifacial heart-shaped hand-axe appeared in late Levalloisian.

Conclusions

The tangled skein has now become sufficiently clear; and the nature and scope as well as the life in Rajasthan in Lower Palaeolithic times or Early Old Stone age is becoming clarified. These assemblages clearly show that South eastern Rajasthan, if not the whole of it, was an area of overlap, like the Narmada valley and Singrauli basin, where race admixture and culture complex took place, leading to the deposit of various types of tools belonging to different as well as derived lithic traditions. The absence of any points, awls or any other tools, by which skins of dead animals could be sewn for wearing, shows that these *Homos* allied to *Pithecanthropi* did not live in extremely cold regions, but occupied more warm regions, migrating to elevated areas during the interglacials. Even if we assume that they had a very hairy body, nevertheless they could not have

¹ The same is the case with some Rajasthani examples.

² J. Hawkes and Sir Leonard Wooley-*A History of Mankind*. Prehistory And the Beginnings of Civilization. Vol. I, London. 1963, p. 64.

tolerated the extreme cold of the ice. The explorations of Sri V. N. Mishra¹ have established that Western Rajasthan in c. 1,00,000 years ago was enjoying a pluvial epoch and forests in all probability existed. Flint or flint like jasper, fossil wood, rhyolite were the raw materials at the disposal of old stone age men. The tools which were for cutting, scraping and piercing belong to Series II.

Old stone age men in Rajasthan were in all probability at first fruit eaters, and then became hunters, living in unforested zones along the edges of marshes or river banks. Just as Ratzel has shown,² regarding primitive tribes of Africa and America, old stone age men followed the natural clearances on the river banks and seldom ventured very far into the interior. The jungle with its carnivora, its impregnable nature and mysterious bosom was repugnant to early men. His chopper-chopping tools were not sufficient to fell primeval trees. It is possibly for this reason that both in Gujarat and Rajasthan, old stone age tools are found on river beds, washed away by subsequent degradations. Here he had greater freedom of movement, sufficiency of the raw materials for his tools, in form of pebbles brought by the river when in spate, wood, grass and creepers for his primitive homes, sufficiency of water, shells, snails, possibly fishes even with small games like birds and animals. There is always a very close relationship between geographical distribution of vegetation and early man.³ With the advent of the 'Hand-axe' people a further advance was made. The new weapon gave them a better tool for fighting animals and to cut down trees. The 'hand-axe' people continued to occupy the earlier settlements. Sri S. R. Rao has tried to establish the sequence between the chopper-chopping and hand-axe people at Bhainsrorgarh, Chamoli and Sonita.⁴

¹ For distribution of tools of Series I and II cf. *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59, pp. 42-43; 1959-60, pp. 39 ff; 1960-61, pp. 30-31.

² Der Ursprung und die Wanderungen der volker geographisch Verhandlungen der Wissenschaften Schsichen Gessellschaft der Wissenschaften. Leipzig. Phil-Histor. cf. 52 (1900), pp. 55 ff.

³ E. Wahle—Germany in the New Stone Age—*A. Hettiner Festschrift*, 1921, pp. 9-18.

⁴ *Indian Archaeology*, 1955-56.

ARCHITECTURAL TERMINOLOGY IN THE VARĀNGACARITA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA, Banaras

The Varāṅga-carita is a poem of 31 cantos written by Jaṭāsimhanandin, who according to Dr. A. N. Upadhye, lived at the close of 7th century A.D. The work has been published in the Māṇikya-candra-Digambara-Jaina Series (now transferred to Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha). Even a cursory perusal of the poem shows that it is one of the best classics in Sanskrit literature. By virtue of its racy style, range of vocabulary, easy language, variety of themes, presenting a full contingent necessary for a Mahākāvya and above all an intimate picture of the contemporary civilisation embodied in it, the work deserves to receive better attention for its intrinsic merits than it has done so far. It is proposed to draw attention to some of its special descriptive passages relating to Art & Architecture.

1-The Description of the Palanquin (Śibikā)

The following description of the palanquin of a princess contains a bunch of art terms :

जलप्रभाभिः कृतभूमिभागां प्राचीनदेशोपहितप्रवालाम् ।
सर्वार्जनोपात्तकपोतपालीं वैदूर्यसव्यानवतीं परार्थ्याम् ॥
हेमोत्तमस्तम्भवृतां विशालां महेन्द्रनीलप्रतिबद्धकुम्भाम् ।
तां पद्मरागोपगृहीतकण्ठां विशुद्धरूपोन्नतचारुकूटाम् ॥
द्विजातिवक्त्रोद्गलितप्रलब्धां मुक्ताकलापच्छुरितान्तरालाम् ।
मन्दानिलाकम्पिचलत्पताकामात्मप्रभाहेपितसूर्यभासम् ॥
नानाप्रकारोज्ज्वलरत्नदण्डां विलासिनीधारितचामराह्वाम् ।
आन्ध्य कन्यां शिविकां पृथुश्रीः पुरीं विवेशोत्तमनामधेयाम् ॥

वरांगचरित (२१ ५३-५६)

The floor was polished producing a glistening effect like that of water (*Jala-prabhā*, II. 53). On its eastern side it was furnished with coral-like red decoration. The *Kapotapālī* motif as an ornament of decoration is mentioned here again (as also in XXII, 57) but the meaning of *Sarvājana* is not quite clear. Perhaps it denoted the same as *Sarvāpasara* or the throne in the hall of public audience with which the *Śibikā* resembled. An upper covering (*Samvṛtān*) made of *Vaidūrya* was used as the roof of the palanquin. It appears that the palanquin was a structure fitted on posts (*Stambhas*) fitted in their respective casements of pot-design (*Kumbha*) with a cornish moulding (*Kanṭha*) and having a spire or Pyramidal turret (*Kūṭa*) on the outside of its roof. This

should just give the sight of a mobile *Vimāna*. In the compound *Dvijāti*, etc. the correct reading as given in the foot note should be °*Pralambām*, meaning that there were pendants (*Prālamba*) of pearls or jewels coming out of the mouths of birds (*Dvijātivaktrodgalita*). In the intervening spaces of the bird-like figures there were pearl strings or festoons (*Muktākālāpacchuritāntarāla*). On the top of it there was a small banner fluttering in the air. The long pole or bamboo (*Daṇḍa*) by which it was lifted on the shoulders of porters was studded with jems. Female attendants were employed as fly-whisk-bearers.

In the description of Indumati's Svayaṃvara there is also a description of a similar palanquin but not with relevant details of its making as given here.

2. The description of the *Śrīmaṇḍapa*

नृपाज्ञया राजगृहस्य मध्ये नरेन्द्रसूनोरभिषेचनाय ।
 श्रीमण्डपं कामकरण्डकाख्यं सत् कारितं नेत्रमनोऽभिरामम् ॥ ६४
 महेंद्रनीलैर्मणिभिर्विनद्धं महीतलं हेममयी च भित्तिः ।
 कपोतपाली रजतैरुपेता सौवर्णमन्तःफलकं प्रकृतम् ॥ ६५
 स्तम्भास्तु सर्वे तपनीयगर्भा बहिर्वृहद्वलमणिप्रकल्प्याः ।
 द्वारं सुवद्धं खलु सर्वरत्नैर्जम्बूनदाविष्कृतमिन्द्रकूटम् ॥ ६६
 क्वचिक्वचिच्छिम्बतहेममालं प्रवालरत्नयुतिमिश्रजालम् ।
 मुक्ताकलापाञ्चितदामलीलं रराज पर्यन्तविचित्रसालम् ॥ ६७
 प्रवालमुक्तामणिभिर्विचित्रैर्विन्यस्तनानाविधभक्तिचित्रा ।
 भ्रमद्विरेफाहतकेसरेण पुष्पोपहारेण रराज भूमिः ॥ ६८

(वरागं चरितं, २। ६४-६८)

It is a description of *Śrīmaṇḍapa* or beautiful pavilion named *Kāmakaraṇḍuka* which was erected for the consecration ceremony of the royal prince Varāṅga (II.64-9).

The name *Kāmakaraṇḍuka* implies that the pavilion was like a basket richly embellished with a variety of motifs relating to the god of Love (*Kāma*) which are mentioned in literature. Of them *Kāmalatā* is referred to twice in the *Varāṅgacharita* itself (VII. 23 ; XXII. 60): *Rati-vallī*, *Madanadruma*, etc. the latter two occurring in the *Śrīṅgāramañjari* of Bhoja (page 11). Its floor was covered with pieces of *Indranīla* and the walls (*Bhittis*) were made of gold. These should be taken as the poet's imagination of an idealistic *Maṇḍapa* suitable for the *Devas*, but the fact remains that the *Maṇḍapa* was provided with an enclosure wall. It appears that the pavilion was covered with a roof which was provided with proper mouldings suiting a *Sikhara*. One or such mouldings was *Kapotapālī* like short projecting caves ornamented by figures of parched pigeons carved in stones and mentioned here as of silver. In the inside of the pavilion was a broad seat of gold (*Sauvarṇam antahphalakam*). The

pavilion was raised on pillars as was universal in the case of all the *Maṇḍapas* built either in temples or in palaces or independently for special purposes. It is said here that shafts of pillars were made of gold (*Tapāṇiyagarbha*) and ornamented with jewels. There was an entrance (*Dvāra*) leading to the interior of *Maṇḍapa*. This should be taken as the entrance to the portico which gave admission to the *Maṇḍapa* proper. It is stated that the *Maṇḍapa* was furnished with an *Indrakūṭa* of gold which most probably refers to the main turret of the *Śikhara* or spire. It was the practice to embellish the interspaces of the pillars or the under side of the roof with beautiful pendants (*prālamba*) made of gold (*Hemamāla*) jems, which were decorated with festoons made of corals, jems, etc. (*Pravālaratnadyutimiśrajāla*). This feature of beautifying the interior of buildings with rich pendants and festoons was in vogue from the Śuṅga period but became very popular during Gupta times as seen in many Ajantā paintings and often described in literature. A special form of these pendants was that of clustered pearls twisted into the form of ropes and used as danglings from the walls (*Parvantasāla*) as mentioned here (*Muktākālāpāñcitādāmalilam*).

The ground-floor was decorated with a variety of designs (*Nānāvidhabhakticitra* II. 68) produced by inset work of coral pearls and jems (*Pravālamuktāmañibhiḥ* II. 68). Another practice was to lay down small heaps of flowers on the floor arranged in various decorative designs (*Puṣpōpahāreṇa rarāja bhūmiḥ*, II. 68) which is a usual feature of classical poetical descriptions. Under the pavilion was placed a *śimhāsana* as a seat for newly consecrated prince. According to the description in the *Kādambarī*, *Śrīmaṇḍapa* was also the name of the special pavilion in the *Kumāra Antahpura* and *Kumārī Antahpura*, i.e. the royal palaces given to prince and princesses and this *Śrīmaṇḍapa* was a substitute for a regular *Āsthānamāṇḍapa* for the king's palace (*Kādambarī*, Vaidya Edn. 92.109; 190.182).

3. The Description of the Principal Palaces

A description of the principal palaces (*Vimāna-mukhyāḥ*) of Indra (*Indra-saṃjñaka*) are described with the help of a rich architectural terminology. The passage (IX.12-24) runs thus:—

मध्ये भवन्तीन्द्रकसंज्ञकानि श्रेणीगतान्यप्रतिभासुराणि ।
 प्रकीर्णकानि प्रततानि राजन् विमानमुख्यानि विमान्यजस्रम् ॥
 दूर्वाकुरदयामलविग्रहाणि शुक्लच्छदाभान्यपराणि तानि ।
 शिरीषपुष्पप्रतिमप्रभाणि सन्तीन्द्रगोपप्रतिमद्युतीनि ॥
 मयूरपारापतकण्ठशङ्खप्रवालजात्यञ्जनदुग्धवर्णैः ।
 व्याभिन्नपद्मैर्हरितालभैदैः समानवर्णान्यपराणि भान्ति ॥
 आदित्यतेजोऽधिकदीप्तिमन्ति कान्त्या पुनश्चन्द्रमसोऽधिकानि ।
 दशार्धवर्णानि मनोहराणि मणिप्रभापद्मवितध्वजानि ॥

ज्वलद्बृहद्रत्नमयैर्विचित्रैर्वैदूर्यनद्धैस्तपनीयकुम्भैः ।
 वज्रोपधानैः स्फटिकोपलस्थैस्तम्भैर्मृगाङ्गैः सततं वृतानि ॥
 पृथग्विधैर्यैर्गजवाजिरूपैर्मूर्तैः शकुन्तैर्मकरैर्लताभिः ।
 भित्त्याश्रितैस्तैर्मनसाप्यचिन्त्यैः प्रकल्पितान्येव च सर्वकालम् ॥
 प्रवालमुक्तामणिहेमजालैर्घण्टारवोन्मिश्रितकिङ्किणीकैः ।
 विचित्ररत्नस्तवकावलीभिः पर्यन्तलम्बैरतिशोभितानि ॥
 माहेन्द्ररत्नोज्ज्वलमालिकानि विशुद्धरूप्यच्छदपाण्डुराणि ।
 विशिष्टजाम्बूनदभित्तिकानि महार्घ्यरत्नार्चितभूतलानि ॥
 स्वभावशुभ्राणि महाद्युतीनि समीक्ष्य नृणां नयनामृतानि ।
 अकृत्रिमाप्यप्रतिमानि नित्यं विमानमुख्यानि विभान्ति तत्र ॥
 द्वारैश्च जाम्बूनदबद्धमूलैः स्फुरत्प्रभैर्वज्रमयैः कवाटैः ।
 सोपानदेशैस्तपनीयबद्धैर्भिन्नान्धकाराणि महागृहाणि ॥
 सूर्यप्रभैः सूर्यगभस्वितुल्यैश्चन्द्रांशुजालाधिकचन्द्रकान्तैः ।
 शुक्रप्रभैः शुक्रसमानभाभिर्ज्वलत्प्रभैः प्रज्वलद्ग्निकल्पैः ॥
 सुगन्धिनानावरधूपवासैः पुष्पप्रकारैर्बहुवर्णकैश्च ।
 पृथग्विधैर्यस्तबलिप्रकारैरतुल्यकान्तीन्यनिशं विभान्ति ॥
 सोद्यानवापी हृददीर्घिकाश्च पर्यन्तकान्तस्थितकल्पवृक्षाः ।
 सौवर्णशैला रमणीयरूपास्तेषां गृहाणां तु बहिःप्रदेशाः ॥ (बरागचरि० ९। १२-२४)

The palaces stood in rows (*śreṇigata*) unexcelled in radiance by anything else (*Apratibhāsura*, 12) and situated separately from each other (*Prakīrṇakāni*, 12). The different colours resembling the rainbow hues on the exterior of those palaces are described as resembling those of dark green of the *Dūrvā* grass, light green of the parrot-wings (*śukacchada*), yellowish green of the *Śirīṣa* flower and red of the group of cochineal insects (*Indra-gopā*). A list of some other objects the colours with which the palaces resembled is given (14) *viz.* peacock, pigeons' throat, conch, coral excellent collirium, milk, blossoming lotus, orpiment. Some were resplendent like the sun and others were shining like the moon. They looked beautiful in five colours, *viz.* white, green, red, yellow and black.

The palaces, of course, were provided with pillars (*Stambha*) which were made of crystal stone (*sphaṭīkopala*). Their pot and foliage decoaration in the basement and at the top (*Kumbha*) were made of gold. The chain and bell motif wound on the shaft indicated by the word *Naddha*, were made of baryl (*Vaidūrya*) and of different designs. The cushions or abacus of the capitals (*Upadhāna*) were made of diamond. The shafts of these pillars were adorned on the four sides with moon-like decorations (*Mr̥gāṅka*) which certainly has reference to the circular mirror decorations found on the pillars during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Thus we have here a bunch of terms as *Stambha*, *Kumbha*, *Naddha*, *Upadhāna*, *Mr̥gāṅka* (IX. 16).

A number of decorative (*Prthagvidha*) motifs (*Rūpaiḥ*) of plant and animal life were carved on the walls (*Bhittiyāśrita*) of the palaces in friezes and panels, e.g. elephants, horses, *bhūtas* and *gaṇas*, *Yakṣas*, *Rākṣasas*, birds, alligators, creepers, Festoons (*Jāla*) made of coral, pearls, jems and gold adorned the wall surfaces. Rows of small bells (*Kiṅkiṇi*) were fastened, which were making a tinkling sound together with those of large bells (*ghaṇṭā*). A feature which has often been mentioned consisted of a number of pendants (*lamba*) made of clusters of different kinds of gems (*vicitraratnastabaka*) which were hung in rows (*āvali*) on the outer fringes of the palace verandahs (*pariyanta*, 18). The floor decorations consisted of costly jewels (*mahārgharatnārcitabhūta-lāni*) including garlanding festoons of sapphires (*mahendraratnojvala mālīkā*), floral scrolls of white silver (*Viśuddha rūpyacchada*). The walls were beautified with a dado of gold of the highest purity (*viśiṣṭa jāmbūnada*) which was the same as *Jātisuvārṇa*. The great houses were provided with doorways (*dvāra*) whose doorsills (*mūla*) were made of gold, having shining doorleaves of diamond (*vajramaya Kavāṭa*) and these were provided, in front, with stairways (*Soṇānadaśa*) with steps of gold (*tapāṇīya baddha*). On the floors of the palaces were heaped different kinds of flowers (*bahuvārṇaka*) that were offered for the sake of worshipping gods (*Baliṭprakāraiḥ*) which were known as *Puṣṭopahāra* or *Puṣṭaparakara* described earlier.

The author has done well in describing the *Bāhyodyāna* (*Bahihpradeśa*) attached to these palaces which had their contingents as lotus-pond (*Vāpī*), groves (*Udyāna*), water-reservoir (*Hrada*) and long canals of flowing water (*Dirghikā*) which ran through the palace and then diverted into the *Bāhyodyāna* for the sake of beauty and irrigation. The *Dirghikā* or long canals, as the name indicates, were a particular feature of palace architecture in the Gupta age and are mentioned in the works of Kālidāsa and Bāṇa also. They were punctuated by small lotus-ponds called (*vāpī*) in which domestic cranes were reared and which provided suitable places for water-sports. In the garden there was also a bigger pond mentioned here as *saraḥ* and elsewhere as *Puṣkarīṇi* or *Nalinī*. There were the wish-fulfilling trees (*Kalpavṛkṣa*) growing on the margins of these watery spots.

In fact, this text enumerates ten kinds of *Kalpavṛkṣas* (*madyāṅgatūryāṅgavibhūṣaṅgā jyotiṅgrhā bhājanabhojanāṅgāḥ | pradīpavastrāṅgavaraprasaṅgā daśaparakārāstaravastu tatra || VII. 14.*) which were of a mythical character. There is a special reference to the *Kṛīḍā Parvataka* or small hillocks raised for dalliances which in the world of men are referred to as *Dāruṭparvataka* but here as *Sauvārṇa Śaila*.

4. The Description of a Temple of Jina (*Caitiagrha*).

A long description of a full-fledged temple of a Jina or *Tirihamkara* with its full contingent of architectural parts and mouldings is given in the *Varāṅga-*

carita (XXII. 56-68) which is quite rich in art terms. The passage runs as follows :—

संदेशमीशस्य मुदावधार्य बुधः प्रगल्भो विबुधः स नाम्ना ।
 अल्पैरहोभिर्नगरस्य मध्ये प्राचीकरोच्चैत्यग्रहोत्तमं तत् ॥
 सगोपुराट्टालकचित्रकूटं महाभ्रसंघटिततुङ्गकूटम् ।
 चामीकरानद्दसहस्रकूटं घण्टारवैभ्रस्तकपोतकूटम् ॥
 व्यालोलमालाकुलितान्तरालं मुक्ताखगालिङ्गितचारलीलम् ।
 विचित्ररत्नस्फुरदंशुजालं रेजेऽतिमात्रं वरहर्म्यमालम् ॥
 सुशिल्पिनिर्मापितरम्यशालं मृदङ्गगीतव्यनितुङ्गशालम् ।
 वन्दारुदिव्यस्तुतिपूरिताशं बभूव तच्चैत्यग्रहं विशालम् ॥
 क्वचित्प्रवालोल्लसत्तमदामयष्टिः क्वचिच्च मुक्तान्तरलोलुपष्टिः ।
 ललम्बिरे ताः सह पुष्पयष्ट्या द्वारे पुनः कामलता विचित्राः ॥
 द्वारोपविष्टा कमलालया श्रीरुपान्तयोः किन्नरभूतयक्षाः ।
 तीर्थकराणां हलिचक्रिणां च भित्त्यन्तरेष्वाल्लिखितं पुराणम् ।
 ह्यद्विपस्यन्दनपुङ्गवानां मृगेन्द्रशार्दूलविहङ्गमानाम् ॥
 रूपाणि रूपैः कनकैश्च ताप्रैः कवाटदेशे सुकृतानि रेजुः ॥
 स्तम्भैर्ज्वलद्भिस्तपनीयकुम्भैर्विचित्रपत्रांशुपरीतशोभैः ।
 तैः स्फाटिकैर्दम्पतिरूपयुक्तै रेजे जिनेन्द्रप्रतिमाग्रहं तत् ॥
 प्रवालकर्कतनपुष्परङ्गैः पद्मप्रभैः सस्यकलोहिताक्षैः ।
 महीतलं यस्य मणिप्रवेकैस्तारासहस्रैरिव खं व्यराजन् ॥
 वैडूर्यनालैस्तपनीयपद्मैर्महेन्द्रनीलैर्भ्रमरावलीकैः ।
 प्रवालमुक्तामणिभिर्विचित्रैर्नित्योपहारैः कृतमङ्गलं तत् ॥
 जिनेन्द्रगेहो वरधर्मदेहः सुधामयस्तुङ्गविचित्रशृङ्गः ।
 दूरावगाढयो गगनेऽभ्यराजद्वितीयकैलास इवाद्वितीयः ॥
 प्रेक्षासमावृत्यभिषेकशालाः स्वाध्यायसंगीतकपट्टशालाः ।
 सतोरणाट्टालकवैजयन्त्यश्चलत्पताका रुचिरा विरेजुः ॥
 प्राकारमालाभिरथो परितं चैत्यं बभासे जिनपुङ्गवानाम् ।
 मेधावलीभिः परिवेष्ट्यमानः समुल्लसन्तीभिरिवारराज ॥ (वरा०च० २२।५६-६८)

The temple was provided with cardinal gate-ways called *Gopuram* (XXII. 57) which had their lofty turrets (*Atīlaka*). This arrangement of providing four gate-ways and towers in the enclosure walls has been found in the *Virūpākṣa* temple of the early centuries and seems to have been introduced some time during 7th century when the *Varāṅgacarita* was composed. These were provided with spires (*Kūṭa*) with high spires (*Tuṅgakūṭa*). There were also subsidiary turrets (*Kūṭa*) which were quite numerous according to the architectural designs of the *Sikhara*s. There were the *Kapotakūṭa*, also called *Kapotapālī* or particular mouldings having the design of carved *Kapota* birds as mentioned earlier. This was a popular architectural moulding during the Gupta and post-Gupta period.

In verse 58 there is a reference to the pendent garlands (*Vyālolamālā*) in the interior Maṇḍapa (*Antarāla maṇḍapa*). This decorative feature is same as *Prālamba*, *Muktādāma*, *Paṭṭadāma*, etc. It is also stated that the strings of pearls were beautified by a central bead of saphire (*Muktāśragāliṅgitacārulilam*) a feature which is mentioned in several places by Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhaṭṭa (*prāgeva muktā nayanābhīrāmā prāpyendranīlaṁ kimutonmayūkham*) such a garland was known both as *Muktāvalī* or *Ekāvalī* and is frequently representing in the Ajantā e.g. round the neck of Padmapāñi Avalokiteśvara. It is quite understandable that such pearl-necklaces with central saphires were also being used as *Prālamba* pendants. Verse No. 59 mentions the *Gaiityagrha* which was large and comprised quite a number of *Harmyas* which probably refer to the rooms in the upper storeys in the *Sikhara*. The *Śālā* cells mentioned here refer to the *Devakulikās* arranged on the four sides of the compound as in the Virūpākṣa temple. The music permeating in all directions was that produced in the minstrels' gallery which was a feature of all temples of this period. In verse 60 there is again a reference to the pendent clusters of beaded corals (*Pravālottamadāmayaṣṭiḥ*), of pearls (*Muktāntaralolayaṣṭiḥ*) and of flowers (*Puṣpayāṣṭiḥ*). The door-way was also beautified by panels showing *Kāmalatā* scenes, i.e. creepers with male and female figures entwined in their tendrils. There is again a reference to it in VII. 23 (*te kalpavṛkṣāśca daśaparakārā vyāliṅgitā kāmalatāvātānaih*). We find on the door-jambs of Gupta temples representation of such *Kāmalatā* motifs showing both male and female figures separately or as *Mūhunas*, a very apt example being that from Garhava. Verse 61 mentions the two-fold decoration of the entrance: firstly, the figure of Śrī Lakṣmī as *Lalāṭabimba* in the centre of doorway lintel; and secondly, the particular vertical band (*bhūtaśākhā*) in the door-jamb depicting the *Pramatha* and *Gaṇa* figures here mentioned as *Kinnara*, *Bhūta*, *Yakṣa*. Their presence on the door-jambs was essential to ward off the evil eye. Verse 61 refers to the life-scenes (*Purāṇa*) of the Tirthaṅkaras, Baladevas, and Vāsudevas on the walls probably on the main *Maṇḍapa* and the circumambulatory passage. Verse 62 mentions the names of decorative motifs carved on the door-leaves of the main door-ways leading to the *Garbhagrha*. These motifs are enumerated as figures (*Rūpāṇi*) of horses, elephants, chariots, bulls, lions, tigers and birds made of silver, gold and copper in the different panels of the door-leaves (*Kavāṭadeśe sukrīṇi*). In verse 63 the temple is called *Jinendrapratimāgrha*.

The main *Maṇḍapa* was supported on pillars (*Stambha*) possessing of pots (*Kumbha*) and foliage (*Patrāmśu*) designs. On the lower portion of these pillars were carved male and female figures *Daṁpatirūpa-yukta*). Verse 64 describes the floor (*Mahātala*) in the main *Maṇḍapa* studded with corals, chalcedony (*Karketana*), topage (*Puṣparāga*), ruby (*Lohitākṣa*), emerald (*Sasyaka*)

and cornillian (*Padmaprabha*). Verse 65 refers to a particular practice current in the Gupta period of offering what was known as *Upahārapuṣpa* on the floor of the main *Maṇḍapa* which is mentioned frequently in the literature of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods; generally these were lotus flowers but other fragrant flowers also were used for piling in small heaps on the floor or arranging them in the form of beautiful designs. Here of course the reference is to the lotus flowers of gold, stock of barrel and the *Karṇikā* of *Indranīla* jems on which rows of bees were perched (*Bhramarāvalīkaiḥ*). Verse 66 refers to the temple of the Jina (*Jinendrageha*) as the very abode of *Dharma* (*Dharmageha*) plastered with white lime (*Sudhāmaya*) and having lofty spires (*Tuṅgavicitra-sṛṅga*, 66) in which *Sṛṅga* appears to be the same as *Aṇḍaka* which was arranged around the main spires in rising pears. The conception of a temple following the model of Kālidāsa as seen later in the Kāilāsa temple in Ellora, is specially mentioned here.

Verse 67 refers to a contingent of subsidiary apartments or *Maṇḍapas* attached to the main temple, e.g. *Prekṣā sabhāvalī*, i.e. *Nāṭyaśālā*, or it is possible to break the compound as *Prekṣā* (the Theatrical hall) and *Sabhāvalī* a row of audience chambers, *Āsthāna-maṇḍapikās* or *Āsthāyikā* for the use of visitors, *Kathā*-recitors, etc. The *Abhishekaśālā* was a special pavilion used for the consecration of the deity on the occasion of *Ghaṭābhiṣeka*. The other rooms included *Svādhyāyaśālā* for Vedic recitations and study, *Samgītaśālā*, i.e. room for the performance of musical operas and *Paṭṭaśālā* or store-rooms for the dress-material, curtains, etc. relating to the temple which was known as *Vastrāgāra* in medieval Sanskrit and *Tośākhānā* in later days. The banners (*Vaijayanti*) on the *Toraṇa* and *Aṭṭalaka* were fluttering with their flags.

Verse 68 refers to several enclosures (*Prākāramālā*) round the temple. The comparison of the *Prākāramālā* with rows of dark clouds indicated that these were made of dark blue cloth known as *Kāṇḍapaṭa* or *Parivastrā*, and still used in some of the South Indian Temples. We actually find that Māgha in his *Śīsupālavadha* has (V.52) mentioned dark indigo coloured enclosures (*Nīlābhra-paṅkti-pariveśa*) round white royal pavilions (*śuklāmśukoparacita candrākṛti narādhipaveśma*).

Verse 69 introduces us to the *Bāhyodyāna* or the outer gardens in the out-space of the temples in which there were water-ponds beautified by groves of several kinds of trees. The word *Udyānavana* has reference to *Bāhyodyāna* attached to the temple. In verse 70 a conventional list of trees and in 71, of flowers is given after the *Varṇaka* type. The imagery whether the temple has sprung up from the earth or descended from the sky is also met with in the Ellora temple inscription where the monument, in the same spirit as here, is designed as *Svayambhūdhāma*. The entire structure was designed and executed by the best of workmen (*Suśilpi-nirmāpita*) who were commissioned on the job by the king. The whole construction in its full-fledged architectural and sculptural form is called a *Vibhūti* i.e. a work of glory.

ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ—TEXT RESTORED

By

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(Continued from *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XIII, No. 4)

(35) तथा हि ग्लानोऽयमित्युक्ते कुत इति हेतुप्रश्नेन स्थायी तस्य सूच्यते । न तु राम उत्साहशक्तिमानित्यत्र हेतुप्रश्नमाहुः ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 283, II.17-18.

From the context and the trend of the argument it is evident that the reading “हेतुप्रश्नेन स्थायी तस्य सूच्यते ।” is corrupt. Hemacandra preserves the correct reading as follows:—हेतुप्रश्नेनास्थायितास्य सूच्यते । —(p. 125, I.20)

(36) तेन शृङ्गारस्येमौ भेदौ । गोत्वस्येव शाबलेयत्वबाहुलेयत्वे । अपि तु तद्दशाद्वयेऽप्य-
न्यायिनी या रतिरास्वादनात्मिका तस्याश्चास्वाद्यमानं रूपं शृङ्गारः ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 303, II.5-6

The force of “अपि तु” is altogether lost if we accept the text as it is presented. From the context we understand that Abhinava is elucidating here “शृङ्गारस्यावस्थाभेदम्” and not “शृङ्गारभेदौ”. Hemacandra (p. 108, II.3-4) helps us in getting at the correct reading: तेन न शृङ्गारस्येमौ भेदौ गोत्वस्येव शाबलेयबाहुलेयौ..... । The ND (p. 145) further confirms Hemacandra's reading: तेन शृङ्गारस्य नेमौ भेदौ ।

In the passage from the Abhi. Bhā. under discussion we have the reading रतिरास्वादनात्मिका । The editor gives in the footnote the variant reading रतिरास्थाबन्धात्मिका (त्मिका) । That the original and correct reading must have been (रति)रास्थाबन्धात्मिका is as clear as day light from the Abhi. Bhā. itself. On the same page (Vol. I, p. 303, II. 12-13) Abhinava's text has the expression ‘सत्यमास्थाबन्धात्मिकायां रतौ’ and further on (Vol. I, p. 309 I.9) ‘परस्परस्थाबन्धात्मकत्वे रतिरूपे स्थिते’. Hemacandra (p. 108, I.4) supports this reading; ‘या रतिरास्थाबन्धात्मिका’ । ND (p. 145, l. 15), too, reads आस्थाबन्धात्मकरतिप्रकर्षः ।

(37) जुगुप्सा स्थायिन्यपीह निषिद्धा न्यायसिद्धा स्थायिनामपि व्यभिचारित्वमनुज्ञापयति ।
.....इत्यादिनापि रूपकं मन्तव्यम् ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 306, II. 11-14.

This passage is clearly incorrect. Hemacandra (pp. 106-107, II. 24-20) preserves the original correct readings: ...न्यायसिद्धं...इत्यादि न विरूपकं मन्तव्यम् ।

(38) स्वप्ना(सुप्ता)न्तर्भूतोऽपि स्वप्नः प्राधान्यादुपात्तः ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 307. I-4.

Now, the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra (Vol. I, p. 306, I. 2) reads...निद्रा स्वप्नविशेष
...The editor gives in the foot-note the reading निद्रासुप्तस्वप्न । The original reading
QJ5

of the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra must have been ° निद्रातुप्तस्वप्नविबोध ° is a reasonable inference from Abhinava's gloss on it तुप्तान्तर्भूतोऽपि स्वप्नः प्राधान्यादुपात्तः । Hemacandra too enumerates, among the Vyabhicāri-bhāvas of Vipralambha, निद्रातुप्त... स्नप्न.

(39) सम्भोगेऽपि रतिश्रमकृतनिद्रादि यद्यप्यस्ति तथापि न रतौ तच्चित्रतामाधत्ते । विप्रलम्भे तु तद्वतिभावनापरस्परोऽतः (नापरम् । अतः) एव निद्रादिबाहुल्यापेक्षं चेत्यमभिधानम् ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 307, II. 7-9.

Hemacandra (p. 109, II. 18-19) correctly reads: रतिश्रमकृतं निद्रादि...रतिविभावना (v.l. रतिभावना) परस्परोदितमेवेति... ।

(40) वयं तु ब्रूमः । तादृश्यां दशायां स्वजीवितनिद्रात्मिकायां तद्देहोपभोगसाररत्यात्मकां वस्थावन्धोऽपि विच्छिद्यत एवेति सम्भव एव ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 307, II. 11-12.

The context requires विच्छिद्यत एवेत्यसम्भव एव । This conjectural reading is supported by Hemacandra (p. 110, II. 25-26).

(41) अत एव सुकविना वाक्यमेदेनापि मरणमाख्यातम् ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 307, I. 18.

The context requires the reading 'मरणं नाख्यातम्' । This conjectural reading has the support of Hemacandra (p. 110, I. 19).

(42) अन्ये त्वाहुः मरणमिति न जीवितवियोग उच्यते । अपि तु चैतन्यावस्थैव प्राणत्यागकर्तृतात्मिका । या सम्बन्धाद्यवसरगता मन्तव्या व्यभचारिभावेनेति सुलभोदाहरणमेतदिति ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 307, II. 20-22.

Someśvara bhaṭṭa's gloss on Marāṇa runs as follows:—मरणमिति आदीर्घ (? अदीर्घ) कालस्यापत्तिरिति केचिद् । 'मृङ्गप्राणत्याग इति धात्वर्थविचाराद् विषमश्रणपाशबन्धादीत्यन्ये ।

—Saṁketa on Kāvyaaprakāśa, IV, p. 54.

Hemacandra who adapts this passage from Abhi. Bhā. helps us to get at the correct original reading: अथवा चैतन्यावस्थैव प्राणत्यागकर्तृतात्मिका पाशबन्धाद्यवसरगता मन्तव्या' ।

p. 110, II. 21-22.

(43) एतदर्थमेव 'जंस अहं तादेण दिण्णे' ति 'ईरिसस्स कण्णपूरदंसणव्हे' ति (?) च ।

—Abhi. Bhā. p. 311.

In the fourth Paṛiśiṣṭa (p. 392) the editor identifies the first quotation जस्स अहं तादेण दिण्णेति as from *Prīyadśika* 2.2.

This sentence occurs in the *Ratnāvalī* (I. 23-24) as well:

(कहं अजं सो राभा उदअणो) जस्स अहं तादेण दिण्णा ।

The second quotation which, like the first one, is orthographically inaccurate, probably is to be identified with the following sentence from the *Ratnāvalī* (about 15 to 20 lines before the *Gāthā* दुद्धज्जाणुणुराओ...II-1)

सुसङ्गता....ईरिसस्स कण्णखणस्स अवस्सं एव्व ईरिसे वरे अहिलासेण होदव्वे ।

(44) शमशान्तयोः पर्यायत्वं तु हासहासाभ्यां व्याख्यातम् । सिद्धसाध्यते यद् (तथा लौकिका) लौकिकत्वेन साधारणासाधारणतया च वैलक्षण्यं शमशान्तयोरपि सुलभमेव ।

—Abhi Bhā. Vol. I, p. 335, II. 8-10.

The words in bold types make no sense. The original and correct reading of Abhi. Bhā. is preserved by Hemacandra who adapts this passage: न च शमशान्तयोः पर्यायत्वमाङ्कनीयम् । हासहास्ययोरिव सिद्धसाध्यतया लौकिकालौकिकतया साधारणासाधारणतया च वैलक्षण्यात् ।

—KS p. 121, II. 23-24.

(45) प्रक्षयाश्च रत्यादयोऽत्रास्वाद्याः केवलम् । यथा विप्रलम्भे औत्सुक्यं...व्यभिचारिणोऽपि प्राधान्येनावभासन्ते तथा न जुगुप्सायाम् । सर्वथैव रागप्रतिपक्षत्वात् ।

Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 337, II. 11-15.

Hemacandra's punctuation and readings are definitely to be preferred as they are easily intelligible and in conformity with the import of the whole discussion : प्रक्षयोन्मुखाश्च रत्यादयोऽत्रास्वाद्यन्ते । केवलं यथा विप्रलम्भ औत्सुक्यं.....व्यभिचारिणोऽपि प्राधान्येनावभासन्ते, तथा शान्ते जुगुप्साद्याः सर्वथैव रागप्रतिपक्षत्वात् ।

KS—p. 122, II. 6-10.

(45) तथा हि महाव्रते नरकगलादिधारणमसु(स्त्र)भार्यादिसम्पदादि विस्तारसंक्षेपादिकर्मीकृतिर्हि धर्मे जुगुप्साहेतुत्वेनैव निजाभ्यजनं (घृताञ्जनेन) च देवरात्पुत्रजन्माद्युपदिष्टम् ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 337, II. 16-18.

Unfortunately, Hemacandra does not adopt this passage. Dr. Raghavan, who presents the text of the Abhinavabhāratī on the Śānta Rasa, as corrected by him, reads this passage as follows : तथा हि महाव्रते नृकपालादिधारणम्, अनुभार्यादिसमुदायादि विस्तारसंक्षेपातिकर्मीकृतिर्हि धर्मे ? जुगुप्साहेतुत्वेनैव निजाभ्यजनं च देवरात् पुत्रजन्मनि उपदिष्टम् ।—“ The number of Rasas ”, p. 100. The readings निजाभ्यजनं and पुत्रजन्मनि are highly superior to those presented by the Editor. The other reading अनुभार्यादि—about which Dr. Raghavan remarks in a footnote (on the same page) “ This bit both in M and G is very corrupt and suitable emendation was very difficult to be found ”—however, deserves consideration. Could the original reading be अनुभार्यादिसम्पदादि विस्तारसंक्षेपादिकर्मीकृतिर्हि ?

(47) अत एव शान्तहृदयानां परोपकाराय शरीरसर्वज्ञादिदानं न शान्तविरोधि ।

—Abhi. Bhā., Vol. I, p. 338, I. 3.

In the text presented in corrected form, Dr. Raghavan too reads न शान्तविरोधि । Hemacandra, however, reads: अत एव शान्तहृदयानां.....न शास्त्रविरोधि ।

—KS. p. 122, II. 17-18.

That ‘ न शास्त्रविरोधि ’ must have been the original and correct reading becomes at once clear if we take into consideration the context. The citations quoted in support of the statement are obviously drawn from the शास्त्र (Cf. ‘ आत्मनां यो गोपायेत् । ’ ‘ धर्माधिकामनोक्षाणां..... ’ and ‘ जलेऽसौ श्वभ्रे वा पतेत् ।) This leaves no shadow of doubt regarding the correctness of Hemacandra's reading ‘ न शास्त्रविरोधि ’.]

(48) तद्यथाकथञ्चित्स्याज्यं शरीरं यदि परार्थं न त्यज्यते तत्किमिव [न] सम्पादितं भवति ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 338, 11.9-10.

Hemacandra correctly reads this sentence : तद् यथाकथञ्चित्स्याज्यं शरीरं, यदि परार्थं तस्यज्यते तत्किमिव न सम्पादितं भवति ।

—KS. pp. 122-123 ; 1.23-3.

The passage from Abhi. Bhā. under discussion becomes quite intelligible and flawless if we drop “ (न) ” unnecessarily, rather erroneously, added by the Editor.

(49) युद्धेऽपि हि न शरीरस्य त्यागाद्योद्यमः ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 338, 1.12.

Hemacandra probably preserves the original and correct reading when he adopts this passage from the Abhi. Bhā. : युद्धेऽपि हि न वीरस्य देहत्यागाद्योद्यमः ।

—KS. p. 123, 1.5.

(50) केवलं परार्थमिदं विना जडमर्थात्परोपकारात्मकफलत्वेनैवाभिसंहितात् पुनरपि देहस्य तदुचितस्यैव प्रादुर्भावो बोधिसत्त्वादीनाम् । तत्त्वज्ञानिनामपि विश्रान्तिलाभस्वभावौचित्यात् । यथा रामस्य वीरोऽङ्गं पितुराज्ञां पालयितुः ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 338, 11.19-21.

Now this passage suffers from wrong punctuation and is also partly corrupt. Hemacandra presents this text correctly when he adopts this passage from Abhi. Bhā. :—केवलं परार्थमिदं विना जडमर्थात्परोपकारात्मकफलत्वेनैवाभिसंहितात् पुनरपि देहस्य तदुचितस्यैव प्रादुर्भावो बोधिसत्त्वादीनाम् । तत्त्वज्ञानिनामपि विश्रान्तिलाभः, स्वभावौचित्यात् । यथा रामस्य वीराङ्गे पितुराज्ञां परिपालयतः ।

KS. p. 123, 11.12-14.

(51) एषैव गन्धस्थायिकस्य लौत्यरसस्य प्रत्याख्यानं सरणिर्मन्तव्या । हासे वा रतौ वान्यत्र पर्यवसानात् ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. I, p. 341, 11.9-10.

Hemacandra adopts this passage as follows : तथा गर्धस्थायिकस्य लौत्यरसस्य हासे वा रतौ वान्यत्र वान्तर्भावो वाच्यः । एवं भक्त्यापि वाच्यमिति ।—KS. p. 106, 11. 14-16. The ND (p. 145) reads : सम्भवन्ति त्वपरेऽपि यथा गर्धस्थायी लौत्यः... । The Dhātupāṭha, too, reads ‘गृध्र अस्मिकाङ्क्षायाम् ।’ The original reading must have been, therefore, the one preserved by Hemacandra गर्धस्थायिकस्य and not गन्धस्थायिकस्य.

52 यद्यस्मान्नृपतीनां सम्बन्धि व्युत्पादानां सामर्थ्यात् नृपतीनामेव नाटकं नाम तच्छेष्टितं प्रह्वी-भावदायकं भवति, तथा हृदयानुप्रवेशरज्जोलासनया हृदयं शरीरं चोपायव्युत्पत्तिपरिघटितया चेष्टया नर्तयति नट नृतौ नृत्ते इत्युभयथा हि स्मरन्ति । तदिति तस्माद्वेतोः, नामास्य नाटकमिति ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol II, p. 413, 11. 7-10.

From the context it is clear that we must read नट नृतौ (? नतौ) नृत्ते in place of नट नृतौ नृत्ते for Abhinavagupta speaks of both the senses प्रह्वीभाव and नर्तन (नर्तयति). The passage of similar import from Abhinavagupta, given infra as No. 55, may be read along with this.

(53) हास्यप्रधानवचनसम्बन्धशीलनादिना कुत्सितैः पुरुषैरत एव प्रहस्यमानैः सामर्थ्यात्तैरेव भगवदादिभिर्मुक्तम् ।

Abhi. Bhā. Vol. II, p. 448, II. 1-2.

Hemacandra reads the underlined words as हास्यप्रधानवचनसम्बद्धं शीलनादिना

—KS. p. 442, II 2-3.

(54) नानाप्रकारावस्थाविशेषात् सकलसामान्यपृथग्गतोपयोग्यस्तु लोकव्यवहारो...पृथग्जनव्युत्पत्तियोनिरूपकमिदं राजपुत्रादीनामपि शम्भलीवृत्तान्तो ज्ञेय एवावश्चनार्थमिति संप्रयोज्य इत्यर्थः ।

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. II, p. 450, II. 913.

Hemacandra thus reads this passage : नानाप्रकारावस्थाविशेषासकलसामान्यपृथग्जनोपयोग्यत्रपृथग्जनव्युत्पत्त्युपयोगिरूपकमिदम् । राजपुत्रादीनामपि स प्रयोज्य इत्यर्थः ।

—KS. p. 443, II.12-16.

Here we find by comparison that Hemacandra preserves two readings ('पृथग्जनोपयोगि' and 'पृथग्जनव्युत्पत्त्युपयोगि') in their correct original form. His reading 'स प्रयोज्य' is corrupt for the original reading in the NS (XVIII.110) on which the present passage forms Abhinavagupta's gloss is 'वृत्तवित्संप्रयोज्यो....' We, therefore, have to admit the reading 'संप्रयोज्य' found in the Abhi. Bhā. to be the correct one.

(55) ...नट नत्ताविति नमनं स्वभावत्यागेन प्रह्वीभावलक्षणं ये त्वन्ये नट वृत्ताविति पठन्ति तन्मतेऽपीह नमनम्,.....

—Abhi. Bhā. Vol. III, p. 80, II.6-7.

It is more than probable that the original reading of Abhinavagupta must have been 'नट नृत्ताविति ।

This conjectural reading is supported by a parallel passage of Abhinavagupta himself (quoted above as No. 52) and the Dhātupāṭha "नट नृत्तौ ।"

THE FORMULATION OF PĀṆINI 7. 3. 73

By

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According to Pāṇini 7. 3. 73. *lug vā duhadihaliḥaguhām ātmanepade dāntye*, the aorist suffix-*sa-* (3. 1. 45 : *śala igupaādhādanītaḥ kṣaḥ*) is optionally deleted when it follows the roots *duh*, *dih*, *lih*, *guh* and is itself followed by a medial suffix beginning with, dental. The rule allows alternations of the types *adhukṣata/adugdha*, *adhukṣathās/adugdhās*, *adhukṣadhvam/adugdhvam*. According to Indian interpreters the formulation also allows for an alternation type *adhukṣāvahi/aduhvahi* in the first person dual. The traditional interpretation was followed by Benfey, *Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache* § 853 Bem. 1, and Kielhorn (-Solf), *Grammatik der Sanskritsprache* § 365.

Whitney, whose grammar is perhaps the standard reference work in the West, does not mention the complete tradition; his statement concerning the deletion of *-sa-* is (Skt. Gramm.² § 916a) : ‘ .. and a few [roots] are allowed to drop both tense-sign and union-vowel *a* in certain persons of the middle ... ’ He goes on to note the deletion of *-a-* from *-sa-* before vocalic endings (§ 917, see below) but does not mention the alternations mentioned above. Renou, *Gramm. Scte.* § 328, is more specific; he mentions the deletion of *-sa-* in the *ātmanepada* before dental suffixes and adds : ‘ ultérieurement la CV [Cāndravyākaraṇa] et la Kāç. englobent dans la notion de désinences à dentale la désinence en *v*-du duel.’ By specifying ‘ ultérieurement ’ Renou means that the deletion of *-sa-* before *vahi* was not directly provided for by Pāṇini’s rule 7.3.73. The basis for this view is an article by Wackernagel, *Zur Bildung des 7. Aorists im Altindischen*, KZ, 46.273-5 (1914=Kl. Schr. 291-3). In this article, Wackernagel claims that the inclusion of *-vahi* by the *kāśikā*, based on the understanding that the term *dāntya* could refer to *v*, was unjustified.

Wackernagel argues that in Pāṇini’s system *v* is reckoned solely as *oṣṭhya* ‘labial’, so that it could not be referred to by the *dāntya* ‘dental’. He supports his contention with Pāṇini’s sūtra 7.1.102. In this rule (*udoṣṭhyapūrvasya*), Pāṇini provides for the replacement of *r* by *u* in a stem containing a root in which *r* is preceded by a labial; e g. *mumūrṣati* < *mr*. This rule should include forms such as *vuvūrṣati* < *vr*, so that *v* must be *oṣṭhya*. Indian tradition reckons that *v* is *dantyoṣṭhya* ‘labio-dental’, so that the inclusion of *v* within the domain of 7.1.102 requires special comment; the *Kāśikā* states : *dantyoṣṭhyapūro*, *pyoṣṭhyapūro bhavati*, and the *Nyāsa* specifies that *v* has two characteristic *śhāna*’s and can be referred to by either one : *yo hyubhayasthāne niṣpadyate labhate*’ *sāvanyataravya-padeṣam*.

That *v* could be labio-dental in Pāṇini's system cannot be doubted, and Wackernagel himself recognized this. The Pāṇiniyā śikṣā clearly states this: *dantyōṣṭhyo vah smṛto budhaiḥ* (18); the VPr. and the TPr. also class *v* as a labio-dental: VPr. 1.70 *uvōṣṭpā oṣṭhe* (*sthāne*, 1.62), 1.81 *vo dantāgraiḥ* (*kriyate*); TPr. 2.43 *oṣṭhāntābhyāṃ dantairvakāre*.¹ In the RPr. (1.47 *śeṣa oṣṭhyo'pavādya nāsikyān*) it is true that *v* is included in a class characterized only as *oṣṭhya*, but this refers only to *sthāna* (1.49 *iti sthānāni*).² There is no definite statement classing *v* as uniquely *oṣṭhya*. Therefore, though one can reasonably argue that originally *v* was only *oṣṭhya* (cf. W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India* 57), it is unreasonable to insist that this was true in Pāṇini's system.

The Kāśikā brings up a related point which Wackernagel does not refute effectively, namely that, had Pāṇini wanted to refer exclusively to *-ta*, *-thās*, and *-dhvam*, he could have formulated his rule with a *nimittasaptamī tau* instead of *dantye*; *tu* would include *t*, *th*, and *dh* (1.1.69 *anudītsavarṇasya*), all the sounds necessary for the rule. Wackernagel answers that Kāśikā's remark is correct but does not entitle one to attribute a false meaning to *dantya* (op. cit. 274): '... die Bemerkung der Kāśikā ... ist zwar richtig, gibt aber nicht das Recht, dem *dantye* einen falschen Wortsinn unterzulegen.' But the false sense which the Kāśikā ostensibly attributes to *dantya* is false only in Wackernagel's terms. If a *dantyōṣṭhya* sound can be referred to by either of its characteristics, the Kāśikā's usage is faultless. Since Wackernagel's only support for calling *v* uniquely *oṣṭhya* is Pāṇ. 7.1.102' his argument is at least no better than the arguments presented by Indian grammarians for considering *v* *dantyōṣṭhya* and including it in the domain of *dantya* in rule 7.3.73.

There is, further, clear evidence that in 7.3.73 Pāṇini did indeed provide for the alternation type *adhuḥṣāvahi/aduhvahi*. In 7.3.72 (*ksasyāci* [*lopaḥ*, 7.3.73]), Pāṇini prescribes the obligatory *lopa* of *-sa-* before vocalic suffixes, that is (3.4.78), before *-ātām*, *-āthām*, and *-i*. Through application of *alo'ntyasya* (1.1.52), *lopa* effects the deletion of *-a-* from *-sa-*, so that the correct forms *adhuḥṣātām*, *adhuḥṣāthām*, *adhuḥṣi* are produced. Now Pāṇini could also have provided for the optional *lopa* of *-sa-* to produce the variants *adugdha*, *adugdhas*,

¹ Tribhāṣyaratna: *vakāre kārye 'dharoṣṭhāntābhyāṃ uttaradantāgraiḥ saha sparśayet. dantairiti sthānanirdeśaḥ. oṣṭhāntābhyāmili karaṇanirdeśaḥ*. This formulation differs from that in the VPr., according to which *oṣṭha* is the *sthāna* and *dantāgra* the *karaṇa*. For an explanation of the TPr. formulation see Whitney's comment on the passage.

² APr. 1.25 (ed. Whitney, JAOS 7) *oṣṭhyānāmadharaṇuṣṭham* (cf. 1.18: *mukhe viśeṣaḥ karaṇasya*) states that the lower lip is the *karaṇa* of labials, while the RPr. states only the *sthāna*. The commentary on APr. 1.25 does not supply *v* directly, this Uvaṭa does include *v* in his commentary on RPr. 1.47.

adugdhvam; in these cases -s- would have been automatically deleted by the rule *jhalo jhali* (8.2.26). It becomes necessary to know, then, why Pāṇini did not formulate 7.3.73 simply as: *vā duhadihalihaguhām ātmanepade dantye*. Were the rule thus formulated, there would be two possible results: 1. If *dantya* did not include a reference to *v*, *aduhvahi* would not be produced by the rule. This is the situation envisioned by Wackernagel, and *aduhvahi* would have to be considered an invention of post-Pāṇinian grammarians. 2. If *dantya* did include a reference to *v*, in order to avoid producing the incorrect form **adhukṣvahi* (with *lopa* of -sa- and retention of -s-, since *jhalo jhali* could not take effect here), Pāṇini would have had to state the *nimittasaptamī* as *tau* instead of *dantye*. Since Pāṇini prescribes optional *luk* of -sa- instead of *lopa*, there must be some reason for his needing to delete the entire suffix -sa- in 7.3.73.³ The only reason must be that he wished to include in the scope of the rule a suffix beginning with a *dantya* letter not included in the *pratyāhāra jhal* hence not conditioning the deletion of -s-. Only one such letter occurs as the initial of a middle suffix, namely *v*. Therefore Pāṇini's formulation of 7.3.73 does indeed provide for an alternation type *adhukṣāvahi/aduhvahi*.⁴

This discussion is not meant simply to justify the Indian interpretation of a Pāṇinian formulation. Wackernagel's error lay in seeing only one aspect of a two-faceted question. His sole purpose was to show that the -sa-aorist forms produced according to Pāṇ. 7.3.72-3 were -s- forms pure and simple. With this no one will disagree; nor can one doubt that the -sa- aorist was a development from the -s-aorist.⁵ A 1 du. *aduhvahi* does not fit easily in this historical perspective, therefore Wackernagel tried to show that Pāṇini did not in fact allow for such a form in the paradigm of the -sa-aorist. In concentrating exclusively on the historical aspect, Wackernagel neglected the equally important

³ For the effect of *luk* cf., for example, 5.3.30 (*añcerluk*) which prescribes deletion of the entire suffix-*astāt* (5.3.27), and 7.1.22. (*ṣaḍbhyo luk*) which prescribes a similar deletion of the nom. and acc. pl. markers after the class *ṣaṣ* (1.1.24).

⁴ The argumentation presented here is a synopsis of the arguments set forth by Indian grammarians: Kāśikā ad Pāṇ. 7.3.73: *lopa iti varttamāne luggrahanam sarvādeśārtham. tacca vahyartham. anyatra hyantasya lope kṛte jhalo jhalīti sakāralopena siddhyati. ... dantyoṣṭhyo vakāro dantya iti grhyate. yadi sa na grhyate tatastaugrahanamevātra kṛtam syāt*. The Nyāsa 7.3.73 adds the statement: *... nānyārtham luggrahanam. apitu vahyarthameva. atra hyajhalādītvājjhalo jhalīti sakāralopo nāstīti na siddhyati*. Cf. the *vṛtti* on CV 6.1.101 (*lugvā ... tāni dantye*): *luggrahanam sarvalopārtham*.

⁵ Cf. my paper "The origin of the Sanskrit seventh aorist," to appear in the journal 'Language'.

aspect of attributing to Pāṇini's formulations nothing more or less than what Pāṇini must have prescribed. Reading into Pāṇini what one thinks is justified in terms of linguistic development leads nowhere, while a historical evaluation of what Indian grammarians did provide for is both valuable and necessary. In fact, *aduhvahi* can be justified historically. Forms of the types *adugdha*, *adugdhās*, *adugdhvam* are not only alternants in the *-sa*-aorist system, they are also imperfect forms of *duh*, *dih*, *lih*, which have second-class presents; cf. Siddhāntakaumudī ad Pāṇ. 7.3.73: *lukpakṣe tathāsdhvamvahiṣu laṇvadapi*. *Aduhvahi* is then also both an alternant of *adhukṣāvahi* and an imperfect form. Just what conditions determined the developments in question cannot be answered in detail; why *aduhvahi* in the *-sa*-aorist but not **aduhmahi*? This anomaly can suggest that the extension to *-vahi* of the type *adugdha* was a grammarian's formulation, but in this case it was known already to Pāṇini.

A NOTE ON THE WORD KOṢṬHĀGĀRA

by

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Among the principal architectural patterns of building known to the ancient Indians, mention may be made of the royal store-houses which are referred to in the Sanskrit literature as Koṣṭhāgāra. The earliest reference of Koṣṭhāgāra is possibly to be met with in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini¹ where it is mentioned with words ending in agāra. The word agāra is, however, of much earlier antiquity as it occurs at least once in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*². It was a term used for home;³ but, generally it indicated a larger building with several parts, one of which (agāra aika-deśa) was called praghāṇa or praghana in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*⁴. Kāśikā explained it as the rooms in the outer gateway of a building (*bāhya-dvāra-prakoṣṭha*).

The word Koṣṭhāgāra is of great significance in view of the fact that as early as the time of Pāṇini we hear of officers (*niyukta*) in charge of buildings ending in agāra,⁵ e.g. bhāṇḍāgārika, devāgārika, Koṣṭhāgārika (Kāśikā). In the *Udaya Jātaka* there is a reference to Koṭṭhaka which the commentary translates as dvāra-koṭṭhaka⁶. Dr. Coomaraswamy, however, understands dvāra-koṭṭhaka specially as gatehouses, which formed part of the gateways in the wall of a city and of which several examples are found in ancient Indian art.⁷ Thus, a well laid-out city seems to have been equipped with a multitude of buildings, both for its defence and for the practical needs of residence and business which included Koṣṭhāgāra as well.

In order to understand the exact significance of the word Koṣṭhāgāra we will have to make a survey of ancient Indian Literature wherein this word finds mention, and the context in which it is used. In Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, the word has more than one meaning; the most important of which are 'a store-room', and 'a treasury'.⁸

¹ IV. 4. 70

² Vedic Index, I, 7.

³ See Pāṇini, III. 3. 79.

⁴ III. 3. 79.

⁵ IV. 4. 69-70.

⁶ Jātaka, Vol. IV. 106.

⁷ Early Indian Architecture, 'Cities and City-Gates', p. 209.

⁸ P. 314.

Kauṭilya, laying down the duties of the Chamberlain (*Sannidhātā*), requires him to see to the construction of Kośagrha (treasure-house), Paṇyagrha (trading house), Koṣṭhāgāra (store-house), Kupyagrha (store-house of forest produce), Āyudhāgāra (Armoury) and Bandhanāgāra (jail)¹. In his *Arthaśāstra* he also lays down the architectural pattern on the lines of which the construction of these structures had to be undertaken. According to this scheme, the store-house shall consist of many spacious rooms, and enclose within itself the store-house of forest produce separated from it by means of walls and connected with both the underground chamber and the armoury.² All these state-buildings should be provided with halls (*śālā*), pits (*khātā*), water wells (*udapāna*), bathrooms (*snānagrha*), remedies against fire and poison, with cats, mongooses, and with necessary means to worship the guardian gods appropriate to each.³ But as regards Koṣṭhāgāra, a kuṇḍa with its mouth as wide as an *aratni* (24 *aṅgulas*) was to be set up in front of it as rain-ganga (*varṣamāna*).⁴

Here, there is, however, no specific mention of the articles to be collected and stored in the store-house. The *Arthaśāstra* elsewhere enumerates such articles as were to be received by the royal chamberlain who was the incharge of all the departments of the state referred to above. These include gems, either old or new, as well as raw materials of superior or inferior value.⁵ It is only in Chapter 15 of book II, that we get a vivid picture of the store-house. Kauṭilya refers to the Superintendent of store-house (*Koṣṭhāgāra*). To him he assigns the duty of supervising the accounts of agricultural produce (*śītā*); taxes coming under *rāṣṭra* (country-parts), commerce (*Krayimam*) barter (*parivartana*); begging for grains (*prāmityaka*); grains borrowed with promise to repay (*āpamityaka*); manufacture of rice, oils, etc. (*simhanika*); accidental revenue (*anyajāta*); statements to check expenditure (*vyayapratyaya*); and recovery of past arrears (*upasthānam*).⁶

From the above account of *Arthaśāstra*, it, thus, seems that the word Koṣṭhāgāra was used in a very broad sense which included almost all the items of essential consumption. The commentator, Bhaṭṭaswāmī rightly explains the word Koṣṭha as meaning belly, which implies, therefore, all the necessities of life. Hence *Koṣṭhāgāra* is the house wherein all the necessities of life are stor-

¹ Arthaśāstra, Bk. II. Ch. 5.1.

² ib. 5.

³ ib. 6.

⁴ ib. 7.

⁵ ib. 8.

⁶ II. 15.1.

ed.¹ An explanation to the Commentator's interpretation of the word *Koṣṭhā-gāra* is to be sought in the *Arthaśāstra* itself in the chapter on the 'Buildings within the Fort' (*durganiveśa*). Therein Kauṭilya states that "oils, grains, sugar, salt, medicinal articles, dry or fresh vegetables, meadow grass, dried flesh, haystock, firewood, metals, skins, charcoal, tendons (*snāyu*), poison, horns, bamboo, fibrous garments, strong timber, weapons, armour, and stones shall also be stored (in the fort) in such quantities as can be enjoyed for years together without feeling any want. Of such collection, old things shall be replaced by new ones when received."² Here, it may be pointed out that in the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma, speaking to King Yudhiṣṭhira on the methods of protecting the kingdom and subduing the foes, gives a piece of valuable advice and directs such a king who is afflicted by a hostile army, to gather such essential commodities which he feels to be of extreme importance in times of emergency and national calamities. Most of these commodities tally with articles mentioned by Kauṭilya. These include, besides other things, wealth, oil and fat and honey, clarified butter, medicines of all kinds, charcoal, muñja grass, leaves, arrows, grass, fuel, poisoned arrows, weapons of every kind such as darts, swords, lances, and others.³ Bhīṣma further says that a king should specially keep ready drugs of every kind, roots and fruits, etc.⁴ Though, the great Epic makes no reference to the royal store-house here, it is obvious that accumulation or storage of these commodities by the state was looked upon as the most time-honoured duty of kings for facing any emergency.

In the *Sabhāparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, the hoary sage, Nārada, giving advice to Yudhiṣṭhira, makes an enquiry as to whether his treasury (*kośa*), barns (*koṣṭha*), stables (*vāhanam*), arsenals (*āyudham*), etc. are all protected by servants devoted to him.⁵ Here, the word *Koṣṭha* is explained away by the commentator Nilakaṇṭha as a place where food-grain was stored (*Koṣṭham dhānyasthānam*).⁶ It is, thus, apparent that these two words, *kośa* and *koṣṭha* are quite distinct. This distinction is made more vivid in a verse of the *Udyogaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* where we meet with the words *kośa* and *koṣṭhāgara*, used together.⁷ The former corresponds to the wealth or the royal treasury, and the latter possibly to the storage of food-grains in particular and other essential commodities in general. Here, again, the same commentator explains

¹ *Arthaśāstra*. Eng. tran., by Shastri. p. 108. note 2, 1923, Mysore.

² II. 4.34-35.

³ *Mbh.* xii. 69.56-58.

⁴ *ib.* 59.

⁵ *ib.* 5.67-68.

⁶ See his commentary on *Mbh.* ii.5.67.

⁷ V. 196.27.

these terms in the aforesaid sense (*Kośa dhanam koṣṭho dhānyādisāmagrī saṅgrhya cakṛtya*).¹ The epic account says that just before the commencement of the Great War, when both the armies marched, king Yudhiṣṭhira proceeded slowly with his army divisions, taking with him his treasures, and his granaries. Here the use of such expressions as *kośasañcayavāhāṁścha* and *koṣṭhāgāra* which were carried on with the aid of his elephant-divisions (*gajānikena saṅgrhya śanaiḥ prāyadyudhiṣṭhirah*),² undoubtedly refers to wealth and other provisions including food-grains, etc.

Coming to the period of the post-Mauryan kings and during the reign of the Scythian monarchs, we again hear of same state-officials like the *Koṣṭhāgārika* and the *Bhāṇḍāgārika*⁴ who were some of the principal ministers (*Rājāmātya*). Besides the *Bhāṇḍāgāra*, whose existence is implied in Lüders' Ins., No. 1141, we have also a reference to the store-house, *Koṣṭhāgāra*,⁵ which is described in detail in the Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. The distinction between *Kośa* (treasury) or *Bhāṇḍāgāra* and *Koṣṭhāgāra* is clearly perceivable here when we hear that the main heads of revenue received into the *Bhāṇḍāgāra* were, as enumerated in the Junāgaḍh Inscription, *Bali* (extra tribute), *Sulka* (duty), and *Bhāga* (customary share of the king). "These sufficed to fill the exchequer of a benevolent prince like Rudradāman with *Kanaka* (gold), *rajata* (silver), *vajra* (diamond), *vaidūryaratna* (beryl) etc. We can well understand the importance of State granaries in ancient India as observed in *Sukranīti*. As a measure of famine protection, granaries capable of storing sufficient quantities of grain to meet the normal demands for three years are to be erected in different parts of the kingdom and always kept in full.¹ This was a clear directive given by Śukra. The *Nītivākyaṃṣṭa* also endorses this view.² The precepts of *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* in regard to the functions of the State, which actually centred round the principle of protection, deserve to be mentioned here. State activities included the creation and functioning of all the multifarious departments, one of which included measures of protection against famines, fires, floods, epidemics affecting both men and cattle, and such economic instability as might spring from an increase in poverty and unemployment, vagrancy, vice and crime. Such state hoards may, therefore, be justified on the ground of the need of protection against war and famine. It is well-known that in ancient times famines were neither less frequent than in modern times nor less disastrous in effect, Manu, is, therefore, justified in laying down stringent penalties for damaging or breaking into a storehouse (*Koṣṭhāgāra*), an armoury (*āyudhāgāra*) or a temple (*devatāgāra*) even to the extent of slaying the culprit.³

¹ *Sukranītisāra*, IV. ii. 50-62.

² XVIII. 66-70.

³ *Manusmṛti*. ix. 280.

GEOGRAPHY KNOWN TO THE PAUMACARIYA *

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The Paumacariya of Vimalasūri is one of the oldest Prākṛit epic-poems depicting the life of Rāma and we find therein a considerable geographical data. The author of this Prakrit poem, viz. Vimāla, seems to know the length and breadth of Bhāratavarṣa, its important cities and seats of learning and commerce and many tribal regions. It is therefore worthwhile to take a brief survey of the geographical data in the Paumacariya that would shed some light on the mountains, rivers and cities known at that time.

The data collected from different chapters of the Paumacariya deals with the following topics : (a) Bhārata country and its provinces, islands and some tribal regions, (b) mountains and forests, (c) rivers, (d) cities. We will examine these topics one by one.

Bhārata country, its provinces, islands, tribal regions :—The whole country was known as Bhārata country¹ which was divided into many provinces such as Magadha,² Videha,³ Uttarakuru,⁴ Kaliṅga,^{4a} the province around the Indus river,⁵ Aṅga.⁶ The P.C. also mentions Kīrāla⁷ (it may be Kerala), Nepāla,⁸ Śūrpāraka,⁹ Kāśmīra,¹⁰ Āndhra¹¹ and Kaliṅga¹² which are well known provinces even today. Magadha seemed to be central place governing all other provinces ; however, Rāma's capital place was Sāketaपुरी wherefrom he ruled the entire kingdom.¹³ He was a sovereign king.

Jambu island was the chief island,¹⁴ one of the seven continents surround-

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¹ P.C. 28-69, 31-19, 78-13.

² P.C. 2-1.

³ P.C. 3.31.

⁴ P.C. 31.8.

^{4a} P.C. 98.67.

⁵ P.C. 48-102.

⁶ P.C. 88.27.

^{7 8 9} P.C. 98.64.

¹⁰ P.C. 98.65.

^{11 12} P.C. 98.67.

¹³ P.C. 20.169, 22-53, 23-94, 30-82, 30-87.

¹⁴ P.C. 2-1, 43-10, 79.3.

ing the Meru mountain and consisting of Bhārata country and others. In Bhārata country there were islands such as Kambudvīpa,¹⁵ Ratnadvīpa,¹⁶ Nandīśvaradvīpa¹⁷ (which was mentioned many a time in the P.C.), Puṣkara-dvīpa,¹⁸ Hamsadvīpa,¹⁹ Vānaradvīpa,²⁰ Dadhimukha-dvīpa.²¹ These islands seemed to be peculiar to the P.C. and Jain literature and many of them were referred to in the other Jain works. For example, Ratna and Nandīśvara islands are mentioned in the Nāyādharmakathā.²² The island of the Rākṣasas was known as the Rākṣasadvīpa²³ which had Laṅkānagarī as its capital place. In that case it can be identified with the island known in the ancient times as Sīṃhaladvīpa or modern Ceylon. The P.C. does not refer to this island as the Sīṃhaladvīpa.

There were many tribal regions in the country. At one place the P.C. mentions the Kamboja, Śuka, Kapota, Śabara regions.²⁴ Regarding Kamboja and its habitants, it is said that they were the people who might have lived in the Hindoo-kush mountain which separated Gilgit valley from Balkh extended upto Tibet and Ladakh.²⁵ Other tribal regions mentioned in the P.C. are Ābhira, Voka, Yavana, Śaka,²⁶ Viṣṇa, Hiḍimba, Śūla, Barbara, Śabara,²⁷ Khasa, Kola,²⁸ Iṣṇapallī²⁹ and many others. Out of these Śaka may be identified with Śakasthāna viz. Sistan, and Yavanas may be identified with Ionians or Greeks. Of the Khasa region, the P.S.M. says that it was a mountainous region in the north of India. From these various references of tribal regions and its inhabitants, it seemed quite probable that the P.C. knew practically many mountainous regions in the north side of India ; however, some regions like Voka, Varāvaṭa, Viṣṇa, Hiḍimba, Śūla, Śarmaka seemed to be peculiar to the P.C.

This is the picture of the country, its islands and tribal regions as found in the Jain work viz. P. C.

¹⁵ P.C. 45.32, 39.

¹⁶ P.C. 32.61.

¹⁷ P.C. 6.49, 15-30, 44.18, 66.17.

¹⁸ P.C. 82.64.

¹⁹ P.C. 54-45.

²⁰ P.C. 6-34.

²¹ P.C. 51-1.

²² See P.S.M. Naya : 1-9, 1-8.

²³ P.C. 5-126, 48-50.

²⁴ P.C. 27-7.

²⁵ See Apte's Sanskrit-English dictionary.

²⁶ P.C. 98-64.

²⁷ P.C. 98-65.

²⁸ P.C. 98-67.

²⁹ P.C. 39-63.

Mountains :—Many mountains including some mythological mountains were referred to. The Vaitāḍhya mountain found in other Jain works is mentioned at several places³⁰. Similarly the Kailāsa mountain is also mentioned many a time.³¹ The P. C. knows the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains³². In the Rākṣasadvīpa, there was the beautiful mountain by name Trikūṭa,³³ which can be identified, according to the P.S.M., with the mountain Suvela in Ceylon. The Meru mountain where, it is said, Ṛṣabha attained salvation, is also mentioned.³⁴ The P.S.M. seems to look upon this mountain as identical with the Mandāra mountain which is referred to in the P.C.³⁵ According to the Hindus, the Meru mountain is a fabulous mountain which is said to consist of gold and silver.³⁶ Among other mountains known to the P.C. we may mention few of them such as Vasantagiri,³⁷ Madhugiri,³⁸ Guñja,³⁹ Vipula (which was near Rajgir),⁴⁰ Kambu,⁴¹ Daṇḍaka,⁴² Velandhara,⁴³ Puṣpagiri.⁴⁴ The Malaya and Mahendra mountains which were two of the seven principal mountains are also known.⁴⁵ Of all the mountains mentioned in the P.C. Rāmagiri is of special interest. This was the mountain meant for Rāma.⁴⁶ Kālidāsa had referred to the Rāmagiri in the first śloka of his Meghadūtam. Should we then presume that Kālidāsa might have known this reference of Rāmagiri in the P.C. on the basis of which he referred to it in the Meghadūta? In Sanskrit literature we do not get a reference of Rāmagiri anywhere except that in the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa.

³⁰ P.C. 1-47, 31-14, 27-4, 90-1, 101-56.

³¹ P.C. 5-53, 27-4, 9-57, 27-4, 28-6, 64-28, 40-10, etc.

³² P.C. 2-38, 73-7, 10-14, 27.

³³ P.C. 5-127, 48-51.

³⁴ P.C. 1-55, 2-26, 6-207.

³⁵ P.C. 1-35, 23-5, 21-18.

³⁶ See Apte's dictionary.

³⁷ P.C. 21-46.

³⁸ P.C. 8-255.

³⁹ P.C. 8-88, The P.S.M. records this name.

⁴⁰ P.C. 1-34, 2-37, The P.S.M. records this name.

⁴¹ P.C. 45-32.

⁴² P.C. 43-11.

⁴³ P.C. 54-39.

⁴⁴ P.C. 46-73, 76-10.

⁴⁵ P.C. 33-141, 31-100, 30-19.

⁴⁶ P.C. 40-16.

According to scholars like M. M. Mirashi, Rāmagiri is to be identified with Ramtek, 24 miles north of Nagpur.

The Daṇḍaka forest was quite popular and it is mentioned several times.⁴⁷ It was the place of Rāma's stay and the place wherefrom Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā forcibly. It is a well known fact that it is identified with a vast region situated in the Deccan between the rivers Narmadā and Godāvarī. In addition to this Dandaka forest, the Vindhya-forest which is now said to be a forest lying on the portions of Khāndesh and Aurangabad is known to the P. C.⁴⁸

These references to the mountains in the P. C. will clearly show the north side of India, some part of the south and Ceylon. Many mountains seemed to be peculiar to the P. C. and popular in Jainism.

Rivers :—There are several references to the river Ganges.⁴⁹ It was also known as Mandākinī river⁵⁰ or Jāhnavī⁵¹. The rivers Sindhu,⁵² Tāpī,⁵³ Narmadā,⁵⁴ Karṇaravā,⁵⁵ Yamunā,⁵⁶ Krauñcaravā,⁵⁷ Gambhīrā⁵⁸ were known. Of these rivers, the P. S. M. records the Karṇaravā river, but the river Krauñcaravā is peculiar to the P. C. ; other rivers can be identified with present rivers bearing the same names. About the river Gambhīrā, it can be said that it may be the same river which Kālidāsa mentioned in his Meghadūta.⁵⁹ It seems that these are not mythological rivers but found in the land of Bhārata.⁶⁰

Cities :—Many prominent cities and capital places of various provinces were mentioned in the Paumacariya. We may identify a few of them with present cities. The following is the alphabetical list of some cities as mentioned in the P. C. :—

⁴⁷ P.C. 40-13, 41-1, 42-14, 43-19, 49-3, 79-5, 98-42.

⁴⁸ P.C. 34-34.

⁴⁹ P.C. 5-172, 11-111, 94-53, 98-61.

⁵⁰ P.C. 10-50, 82-109, 103-94.

⁵¹ P.C. 94-48, 41-51.

⁵² P.C. 8-168, 98-63.

⁵³ P.C. 35-1.

⁵⁴ P.C. 10-29, 77-64, 34-32.

⁵⁵ P.C. 40-13, 41-3, Referred to by P.S.M.

⁵⁶ P.C. 55-42.

⁵⁷ P.C. 42-15, 43-21.

⁵⁸ P.C. 32-11.

⁵⁹ Meghadūta (Pūrva)-43.

⁶⁰ Some of the provinces and tribal regions etc. mentioned in the P.C. are found in the Jain canons. For details refer to Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain canons (1947) by Dr. J. C. Jain, pages 245-366.

<i>City</i>	<i>Reference in the P.C.</i>	<i>Location</i>
Ayodhyā	11-7, 37-19	} Modern Oudh situated on the Sarayū river.
Kosalā	82.5, 94.62	
Sāketa	22.58, 30.82, 87	
Ujjayini	33-66	One of the sacred cities of the Hindus in Malva region.
Kuṇḍagrāma	2.21	(Another name of Vaiśālī)
Kauśāmbī	88.24	Name of the ancient city on the Ganges in the lower part of the Doab. It was near modern Kosam about thirty miles above Allahabad.
	20.169	
	21.2	
Campāpurī or	8-156	Name of the ancient city on the Ganges, identified with modern Bhagalpur.
Campānagara	21-6	
Takṣaśilā or	4-38	A place in Rawalpindi District in the Punjab, a place of celebrated university of the 1st century A.D.
Taxila		
Daśapura	77-47	Modern town of Dholpur.
Padmapura	5.94	Situated somewhere near Chanda in the Nagpur District. Native place of Bhavabhūti.
Magadhapura	82.16	City of Magadha, southern part of Bihar.
Mithilāpurī	30.97	} Capital of Videha. North East of Magadha—Ancient city Mithilā, Capital of Magadha (Bihar).
Mithilānagarī	28.95	
Rājagrha	20.202 21.24	
Vaṇārasī	20.155 41.40 95.35	} The holy city of Banaras.
Vidarbha	26.8 30.19	} Name of the region of modern Berar.
Śrāvastī	20.169 88-19, 24	} Name of the city to the North of the Ganges-identified with Sahet Mahet-north of Ayodhyā.

It may be said that there may be a difference of opinion in identifying some of the cities with present ones. It is one of our efforts in that direction. Moreover it is a very difficult problem to know exactly the view of the author of the P.C. regarding the geography of these cities etc., since he is describing the life of Rāma—a legendary figure in his work P.C. wherein he is likely to refer to mythological geography.

Thus we have taken a brief survey of the geographical data found in the P.C. The survey will reveal that the work seems to be more familiar with the geography of the north of India than with that of the south. This may lead us to believe that the poet Vimalasūri must belong to the north of India—the region which is known to him best. He also used some geographical knowledge known to the Jain literature. That is why we cannot find parallel names of mountains etc. or identify them with those in Sanskrit literature in many cases as seen above. However it is certain that he had wide knowledge of the geography of his country.

Abbreviations

P.C. :—Paumacariya.

P.S.M. :—Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo.

BRAHMASŪTRA II.2.37-45—A FRESH INTERPRETATION

By

P. M. MODI, Baroda

In these Sūtras three Paurāṇik Schools seem to have been discussed by the Sūtrakāra, Sū.37-38.39 discuss a Paurāṇik School which believes that the Reality is a *Pati*, a husband or a master, the souls are his wives or servants and that the *Pati* and the wives or servants reside in an abode, some *definite* place like Kailāsa or Vaikuṇṭha. The Sūtrakāra rejects this view. He gives three arguments : (a) The Supreme Reality cannot be a husband or a master. It is improper (असमञ्जस) to conceive of the Supreme One as a husband or a master. The Sūtrakāra does not think it necessary to give any arguments for this impropriety. He seems to believe that any one who has read the Upaniṣads (वेदान्तः, the only authority for the Sūtrakāra) would easily admit the fact that it is wrong and improper to think of the Brahman or the (Upaniṣadic) Puruṣa as a husband of wives or a master of servants. Śaṅkara is wrong in giving arguments to prove the असमञ्जस्य of the पति. According to the Sūtrakāra the very fact that Brahman of the Upaniṣads is conceived in the Purāṇas as a husband (even a divine master) is by itself sufficient to condemn that view.

Sūtra 38 gives the second argument. The conception of the Upaniṣadic Brahman as a *Pati*, a husband or a master (or a father even) requires a kind of *sambandha*, relation or relationship or connection between the *Pati* and the souls who take place of wives or servants. According to the Sūtrakāra this relationship or this connection (सम्बन्ध) is itself improper (अनुपपत्ति) or not provable by any arguments. How can the Upaniṣadic Brahman or God behave towards the souls, Its or His own *aṁśas* as a husband or a master? Such connection is by itself self-condemned. According to the Sūtrakāra this सम्बन्धानुपपत्ति does not require to be proved by any arguments. Śrī Śaṅkara is wrong in explaining the सम्बन्ध as संयोगसम्बन्ध, समवायसम्बन्ध, etc., when the Sūtrakāra himself does not give any such arguments. Ś.'s *bhāṣya*, न तावत्संयोगलक्षणः सम्बन्धः सम्भवति..... तस्मादनुपपन्ना सांख्ययोगवादिनामीश्वरकल्पना, is not intended by the Sūtrakāra; Ś. gives them because he has to give them with reference to his own interpretation of Sū. 37 where he introduces प्रधान, पुरुष, etc.

Sūtra 39: The third argument of the Sūtrakāra is that the Upaniṣadic Reality, Brahman or Puruṣa, whom the Paurāṇikas conceive as a *Pati*, cannot have a place of residence, such as the Paurāṇikas believe It or Him to have. According to the Sūtrakāra there is no necessity of giving proof or proofs to prove that the Upaniṣadic Brahman or Puruṣa cannot have any abode (अधिष्ठान), such as is mentioned by the Paurāṇikas. So, he does not give any such argu-

ment. So Ś.'s argument "न ह्यप्रत्यक्षं रूपादिहीनं च प्रधानमीश्वरस्याधिष्ठानं संभवति" is not meant by the Sūtrakāra at all.

We have said above that according to the Sūtrakāra the Upaniṣadic Reality cannot be a Pati ('Pati' is improper in a system based upon the Upaniṣads). It cannot have a connection like that of a Pati with the souls whose Pati It is conceived to be and it cannot have an abode like Kāilāsa or Vaikuṇṭha. Thus we have taken the Upaniṣadic Reality as the topic in the mind of the Sūtrakāra in Sū. 37-38-39. The word करणवत् (neu. nom. sing) clearly shows that the impersonal Brahman is here the ultimate Reality in the mind of the Sūtrakāra when he discusses the doctrine of the Purāṇas. In Sū. 40 the Pūrvapakṣa says that the Upaniṣadic Brahman or Puruṣa is One who *has* or who *possesses* senses (करणवत्) and hence It can be conceived as a husband or a master, It can have connection with the souls as their husband or master, and It can reside in an abode. Thus, this Pūrvapakṣa supports my interpretation of these Sūtras. Also my view that the Sūtrakāra should have discussed the Opponent's view from the Standpoint of his Reality, *viz.*, Brahman, is proved to be correct by the fact that he takes *only* the Vedāntas or Upaniṣads as authority (सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययम् —Bra. Sū. III. 3.1) and also by the fact that the next Adhikaraṇa (Sū. II.42-45) deals with a Paurāṇika School, *viz.*, the Bhāgavata School.

Sū. 40-41. If the Opponents (*i.e.* the Paurāṇikas) say that the Supreme Being is *possessed of senses* (करणवत्), we say, ' No, because due to the experience of objects (भोगादिभ्यः), (then, old age, sickness, and death), It will have an end, or (if It has no end in the form of merging into a higher principle)' It will be not omniscient, because Its knowledge which It gets through senses, and any one who gets his knowledge through senses, is never all-knowing. The Opponent cannot say that the Supreme Being who has senses does not use them in getting knowledge.

(a) Sūtras 40-41. These two Sūtras seem to have been originally *one* Sūtra, *vis.* करणवच्चेन्न भोगादिभ्योऽन्तवत्त्वमसर्वज्ञता वा. If we take " अन्तवत्त्वमसर्वज्ञता वा " as a separate Sūtra, we do not know it is whose अन्तवत्त्व and why (*i.e.* due to what there is अन्तवत्त्व). But if we combine the so-called two Sūtras into one, we get a clear sense very easily. " If the opponent says that the Supreme Principle is करणवत् (possessing senses), and therefore, It has an abode (अधिष्ठान), It has a connection with souls (संबन्ध) and also It can be a पति of souls who can be said to be wives (if " पति " means a husband) or servants (if the word ' पति ' means a master).

(b) न, भोगादिभ्योऽन्तवत्त्वम्. No (*i.e.* the Supreme One cannot be करणवत् ; there will be perishability or time-limit to the Principle due to Its experience of the विषय of senses (which It has got). The senses when used get experience of

their विषय for their possessor, from such experience comes दुःख, then जरा (old age), then, last of all, end or death. भोगादयः would lead to अन्तवस्त्वम् or death.

But, as it is the Supreme One, about which we are here talking, it is possible as the Gītā says that It has experience or enjoyment (भोगादयः) of the objects of sense *without being attached to them and so there is in Its case no end, no death*: But then there will be another possibility, viz., as the Supreme One is getting Its knowledge through Its senses, It will be असर्वज्ञ like all those who get this knowledge through their senses.

Here in my opinion the असर्वज्ञता of the Supreme One is due to Its getting Its knowledge through the senses which It is supposed to have. If in order to make It omniscient, the opponent says that It does not get Its knowledge through Its senses, the Siddhāntin would then argue that it does not use Its senses, so It is without senses at all and so the argument and the doctrine of the Opponent that the Supreme One has senses and therefore It has an अधिष्ठान a place or an abode and a सम्बन्ध a connection would fail.

(c) If the Supreme One has senses, It can be a Pati, a husband or a master, It can have connection with those whose Pati It is, and It can have an abode to dwell in. This the Sūtrakāra seems to grant, because he does not say that "even if the Supreme One has senses, It cannot be a Pati, It cannot have connection with those whose Pati It is and It cannot have an abode".

Thus, the Sūtrakāra in Sū. 37-41, seems to refute some Opposition-views based upon Purāṇas. These views are not Philosophical but they are mythical, as the words पति, सम्बन्ध (connection as पतिपत्नी or पति and दास), अधिष्ठान (e.g. कैलास), करणवत् (having senses which lead to भोग enjoyment, birth, death etc.), अन्तवस्त्वम् or in its absence, असर्वज्ञता show.

(d) Sūtras 40-41 refute the Pūrvapakṣa's argument of the करणवत्त्वम् of परब्रह्मन्; and Sū. 37-39 refute the view that परब्रह्मन् is a Pati.

(e) After पुराण, the Sūtrakāra seems to take for refutation the वैष्णव संहितास called भागवत or पाञ्चरात्र संहितास. Both these views (the doctrine of the पुराण and the चतुर्व्यूह doctrine of the भागवत) were less important than Buddhism and Jainism in the days of the Sūtrakāra. Therefore their discussion comes after that of Buddhism and Jainism, which in the days of the Sūtrakāra seem to be parts of the ancient Hinduism, as their refutation in the Brahmasūtra II. 2 gets a place between the Sāṃkhya-Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika views and the Paurāṇika-and-Bhāgavata views.

NOVENA AND NAVARĀTRI

By

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The Roman Catholic Church has long recognised a feast named Novena as one that can be legitimately observed by its followers. *Novena* is a Latin word, being the plural of *Nvexus*, which means 'consisting of nine.' According to the *Catholic Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, Novena is "A prayer for some special object or occasion extended over a period of nine days. It may be carried on in common in church, but is often private. A number of Novenas, chiefly in preparation for various feasts, have been approved and indulgerised by the Holy Sea, the principal being that before Pentecost, which alone must be observed in all parochial churches. In its earliest form, the Novena was for the repose of a person deceased. Various contributory causes are alleged for the choice of nine days, but at the root the number seems to have been taken over from Roman paganism."

In Rome at least, if not also in other parts of Italy, the Novena has been a regular feature of the festivities connected with the celebration of Christmas. On the nine consecutive days preceding Christmas special prayers are recited by the faithful, both in the churches and/or in their homes, for the purpose of obtaining, through the intervention of the Blessed Virgin Mary or of a particular Saint, some special blessing or mercy. Since the 'pagan', *i. e.* Roman origin of this nine days long observance is frankly admitted even in orthodox Catholic circles, it would be worthwhile to look into the original source of the festival. Indeed, the very name Novena appears to have been borrowed from the Roman festival called Novena, which was spread over nine days and which formed an integral part of the Megalesia festivals that were being widely celebrated in Rome and other parts of the Roman Empire, since at least two centuries before the birth of Christ. The story of the origin of these Megalesia festivals may be briefly narrated here:

In B. C. 204, in accordance with a Sibylline oracle which had previously prophesied, that the presence of the Phrygian goddess Magna Mater Idaea, who was also known as Cybele, would alone drive the enemy, namely, the Phoenician army led by Hannibal which had invaded Italy, out of the country, the stone image of the goddess was brought to Rome from Phrygia and, miraculously enough, within a year Hannibal with his army was forced to leave the country and in gratitude the people of Rome under Emperor Claudius, had the image of the goddess installed in the temple of victory on the Palatine on April 4 and the day was proclaimed a festival day in her honour.

In accordance, probably, with the custom prevailing in Phrygia, from where the goddess came, the Megalesia or Festivals of the Magna Mater Cybele were instituted in Rome. March was the first month of the Roman year and the festivals of the goddess began on March 15 with *Canna Intrato* ('Day of Reeds'), when the guild of Cannophorii, mostly children, entered the temple in memory of the reeds among which the infant sun-god Attis, lover of Cybele, had been exposed. Then followed a Novena or fast of nine days during which the faithful had to observe strict continence and abstain from bread and everything made from cereals, roots, pomegranates, dates, quinces, pork, fish and wine. On the 22nd came *Arbor Intrat*, when the Dendrophorii or guild of tree-bearers cut in the wood sacred to Cybele a young pine tree and brought it in procession, with a small image of Attis attached to the top branches, to the temple of the goddess, chanting funeral hymns as a sign of grief. Worshippers sat round this tree and mourned the death of Attis day and night. On the 24th, the mourning reached its height in the *Dies Sanguinis* or Day of Blood, when the priests cut and lashed themselves with scourges so as to sprinkle the tree with their blood. The 25th was *Hilaria* or Day of Joy, as the resurrection of Attis was declared to have taken place at midnight. After the dawn the marriage procession of Attis and Cybele was taken out, with the faithful crying "Attis is risen"*

Hindus in India have been observing for more than a thousand years a festival, *i.e.* Navarātri, which besides being a nine-day festival like the Megalesian Novena, offers such an astonishing parallel to the latter, in its details, that one is led to wonder whether the two festivals might not have originated, in their remotest past, from a common source. The Navarātri (lit. "nine nights"), which is celebrated throughout India, in one form or other, for a continuous period of nine days in Autumn, is followed, like the Novena of Cybele, on the tenth day, by a day of joy and universal hilarity, which goes by the name of Vijaya Daśamī or Dasara. The Navarātri festival is held in honour of the great Mother Goddess Durgā and begins on the first day of the bright half of the lunar month of Āśvin (Sept.-Oct.), which will be the 16th day of the month, if the month is calculated from full moon to full moon. It will be noticed that the Novena of Megalesia also began on the 16th day. The Saptamī or the 7th day of the fortnight, which would be the 22nd day of the month, is observed as the day of the goddess's 'patrikā-praveśa' or entry into a bower of leaves from nine plants. It will be again noticed that the 22nd day in the Novena of Megalesia was 'Arbor Intrat,' when a tree was cut in the wood sacred to Cybele and carried to her temple in procession. The Nav-

* "The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic, by W. W. Fowler, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1899, p. 69.

ami or 9th day, which would be 24th day of the month, sees the end of Navarātrī, as did the Novena too end on the 24th day. All through the nine days and nights of the Navarātrī, as in the case of the Novena, strict chastity and abstinence from flesh food and other prescribed articles of diet, including wine, are enjoined on the worshippers.

The 10th day, Daśamī, on the morrow of Navarātrī, which would be the 25th day of the month, is a day of 'Vijaya' (or 'Bijoy,' as it is called in Bengal), being the day of the final victory of Durgā over the forces of evil and darkness represented by the demons, Mahiṣāsura ('buffalo-demon'), Śumbha, Niśumbha, and so on. The 10th is also celebrated all over India as 'Dasarā' or the day of the victory of Rāma, the divine hero of the epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, over the ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa, and also as the day when the Pāṇḍavas, the heroic princes of the epic *Mahābhārata*, who had been in exile, recovered their arms from the Śamī tree, on which they had been kept before their exile.

Though the Navarātrī is being celebrated in most parts of the country at the present day as an autumnal festival, there is sufficient evidence to show that originally it was a spring-time festival. In Bengal, in the spring month of Caitra this festival is being celebrated to this day by some under the name of 'Vāsanti-Pūjā', while the vastly larger majority of Bengalees hold the Durgā Pūja in autumn. In Southern India too the Tamilians, who follow the solar calendar, celebrate the Navarātrī in spring, not in honour of Durgā, but of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. How the spring-time nine-day festival came to be celebrated in autumn is told in some of the religious books, mostly of Tāntrik origin, wherein it is stated that the epic hero Rāma, finding himself baffled in his fight with the demon Rāvaṇa, invoked the sleeping goddess Durgā for help, though it was autumn then, and that the goddess thus roused bestowed on Rāma supernatural arms with which to destroy the demon. Since then Navarātrī has come to be celebrated in autumn instead of spring.

But there is a more valid reason why the spring festival of old should have come to be celebrated in autumn now. The zodiacal belt of constellations and along with it the months which are named after the constellations, make a complete circuit of the heavens in the course of about 25,860 years. If the Arctic Home, where the annual sunrise was preceded by a dawn of 24 days' duration existed, say 12,000 years ago, the constellations and the months to which they were allied in popular imagination would have made nearly half the circuit of the heavens, and what were spring constellations and months 12,000 years ago, would be now autumnal constellations and months, and the festivals too which are bound up with the constellations and months would suffer a similar shift from spring to autumn. Navarātrī is not the only festival which has undergone a seasonal change, and Hindus are not the only people whose racial festivals have shifted from spring-time to autumn.

It may be mentioned in this connection that according to Jain traditions the worship of Aparājītādevī, also called Ambikā, which is one of the names of Durgā, has to take place on Mahānavamī day. The well-known Jaina author Somadeva in his work *Yaśastilaka* testifies to this fact. Śrutasāgara, a commentator on this work, defines Mahānavamī as the ninth of Śukla Caitra. Another Jaina writer, Udayavīra, in his *Pārśvanātha Carita*, assigns both Caitra and Āśvin Śukla-pakṣas to Mahānavamī, which indicates the prevalence in his days of divergent traditions, one assigning the festival to the Spring season and the other to Autumn.

For the real origins of the Navarātrī, we have to go back to the nine-nights ritual which formed part of the ten-nights ritual, named *Daśarātra*, of the Vedic sacrificial session known as *Gavām Ayana*. *Daśarātra* extended over the last ten days of this session which, as I have attempted to show in my article on the "Five Riddles of Vedic Antiquity," published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute (Vol. XII, No. 1, September, 1962), appears to have commenced on the first day of the long dawn period of 24 days' duration and to have terminated on the 25th day when the sun put in his appearance after several months of darkness and gloaming. As pointed out by me in my article, the last day of *Daśarātra*, which was a 25th day, coincided with the *Mahāvratā* day, which was also a 25th day, and was called as such, *i.e.* Pancaviṃśā. This 25th day, which saw the rebirth of the Sun-god, was the New Year's Day of the polar year.

From all the above mentioned facts it would not be unreasonable to conclude that the 10th day following the Navarātrī, which is known as *Vijayā Daśamī* and which saw the triumph of Durgā and Rāma over the demoniac forces, and the 10th day following the Megalesian Novēnā, known among the Romans as *Hilaria*, which saw the resurrection of the sun-god Attis, and the 10th day of the *Daśarātra* or concluding ten-day period of the *Gavām Ayana*, which was identical with the *Mahāvratā* and which saw the rebirth of the sun-god Prajāpati, must have had a common source, to wit, the phenomenon of the reappearance of the Sun on the spring horizon on the day following the termination of a continuous dawn of 24 days' duration, in the prehistoric Arctic Home of humanity.

The Phrygians, according to Dr. H. R. Hall,¹ were a people speaking the "Aryan" tongue, and hence it is not to be wondered at that they should have inherited traditions of life in the circumpolar regions in the hoary past. The ancient Romans and Greeks too can be shown to have preserved traditions of a similar nature. For instance, the circumambulations of the polar dawn continuously for 24 days might have furnished the remote background for the ceremonies of the new year's day, 1st of March, in Rome. On this day, the sacred fire of the Vesti was renewed and fresh laurels fixed on the Regia. This was

¹ *Ancient History of the Near East*, 1913, p. 476

also the day in which the shields were taken by the Salii, who were 24 in number, from the *sacrarium martis* in the Regia and carried through the city in procession, These processions continued till the 24th of the month. The Salii leaped and danced, continually striking the shields with a short spear or stick, as they sang their ancient hymns and performed their rhythmic dance. Again, on March 17, which was named Agonia, a procession went to the Argei, sacred places 24 in number.¹

Reminding one of the nine-day festival of the mother goddess Cybele, was the Greek festival of Thesmophoria, which was held in the autumn, and which was celebrated by women alone. It was also a nine-day affair, and represented with mourning rites the descent of Persephone (or Demeter) into the lower world and her return from the dead. During these nine days women were required to observe strict chastity (Ovid. Met. X. 439). The Karncia, and the festivals known as Agogia and Katagogia of Aphrodite were also carried on for nine days. A festival in honour of "Hyacinthus", one of the titles of Apollo, was celebrated annually at Sparta in July and lasted nine days. It began with laments, but concluded with expression of joy and gladness.²

Chief among the Peruvian festivals was that of the winter solstice which lasted nine days. On the morning of the next day the emperor himself officiated as high priest and all the people gathered at dawn in the public square to await the coming of the supreme deity, the Sun. At sight of him great shouts of joy rose from the multitude, who threw kisses to the orb of day and prostrated themselves.³

Lastly, the Zoroastrian priestly class observe to this day a 'purification ceremony', called the *Barashnom of nine nights*, which lasts for nine days or rather nights. A detailed description of this ceremony is given in the ninth Fargard of the Vendidad. According to Dr. Martin Haug⁴, it is intended for the removal of any impurity whatever, and is practised chiefly by priests. Describing the ceremony, Dr. Haug adds: "The person who has to undergo the ceremony must drink the urine of a cow, sit on stones within the compass of certain magic circles, and while moving from one heap of stones to another he must rub his body with cow's urine, then with sand, and lastly wash it with water. This custom has descended from the most ancient times, when a puri-

¹ *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, by W. W. Fowler, Lond., 1899, pp. 35 to 41.

² *Sun-love of All Ages*, by W. T. Olcott, G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1914, p. 242.

³ Ibid, p. 243.

⁴ *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsis*, 3rd Edn., p. 241.

fiyng and healing influence was ascribed to the urine proceeding from so sacred animal as the cow was to the ancient Aryans. Dr. Haug, in a footnote here, remarks the "cows' urine called 'gomez' in the scripture was probably a metaphorical name for 'rain-water' originally the cows being clouds metaphorically." Seeing that in ancient Vedic as well as Avestan terminology the word 'go', from which the word 'gomez' is derived, signified not only a cow but also occasionally the sun's as well as dawn's rays, and that in the R̥gveda at least the dawn is called a 'cow' ('go'), it may be that the cow's urine mentioned in connection with the Barashnom ceremony is meant to be symbolical of the Sun's rays, to the purificatory nature of which, in both the physical and spiritual senses, the ancient Hindu and Zoroastrian scriptures bear ample testimony. Hence, the presumption that the nine nights' purification ceremony of the Zoroastrians might have had something to do with the nine nights' ritual, *i.e.* Navarātra of the Daśarātra period of the circum-ambulations of the Long Dawn, the mother goddess, and the rebirth of the Sun-god of the prehistoric Arctic Home of Indo-Iranians, cannot be dismissed lightly. It must, however, remain an open question till the reality of that Home is established beyond doubt.

According to Prof. Stephen Langdon and other European historians, the Sumerian civilization, which was perhaps the original source of the Cybele story, goes back to nearly 7000 B.C. It therefore, seems probable, says Prof. Langdon that "the worship of Cybele, as our Common Mother Earth, is not only the most ancient but the most persistent religion known to civilized man." Support for this view of the high antiquity of the cult of the Mother Goddess in near and mid-Asian countries has recently been furnished by the unearthing of alabaster figurines of a mother goddess—one dressed in leopard skin, and another with two leopards on her shoulders—in the ruins of Catal Huyuk, in Southern Anatolia, a township of the 6th-7th millennium as ascertained by radio-carbon tests, according to a report published in *Illustrated London News*, dated 9th June, 1962.

The association of lions and tigers with the ancient mother goddesses appears to have been an almost invariable feature of the cult of these goddesses not only in the Middle East but also in Europe, Egypt and India too. Cybele is shown in her sculptured representations as riding with the divine husband Attis in a car drawn by two lions. The Indian mother goddesses Durgā and Aparājītā too are shown as riding on lions. As mentioned by me in my previous article in this journal, the Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian goddesses of antiquity, like Ishtar, Attargetis, Reha, Anaitis, Innina, Ge, Sokhmit, and Sekhet are all depicted as either riding on a lion, or as lion-headed or having lions with them. As observed by me in that article, "Since the Polar Dawn-goddess, who was viewed sometimes as the mother, at other times as the wife,

and at still other times as the sister or daughter of the Sun-god, was seen in the last stage of her circuits, careering round the horizon in the company of the stellar Lion, which was lighted by her, it was but natural that this goddess should have been looked upon as riding on a lion." The substitution of tigers for lions as the associates of the goddesses in a few stray cases appears to have been due to the loss of the correct tradition which was polar in origin. Thus, the antiquity of the cult of the Mother Goddess in the three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa requires to be pushed right back to the age of prehistoric Arctic Home of civilized humanity, which on both geological and astronomical grounds can be shown to be at least as old as 10,000 B.C. when the spring equinox lay in the zodiacal sign of Leo, the Vedic "Simha".

THREE STAGES IN THE ADVENT OF SOMA*

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Much has been said about the Vedic Soma. Well known is the controversy on the point whether Soma was identified with the moon even at the Vedic times. Hillebrandt went far as to say that all the soma-hymns of the Maṇḍala IX, and a few from other maṇḍalas are addressed to the moon-god¹. The myth of the bringing of Soma from the heavens by a divine falcon, has also been interpreted variously, the notable interpretation being of Bloomfield who sees in it the bringing of rain from the clouds (= the iron-fort) along with the flash of lightening². Not accepting this hypothesis, Oldenberg points out that there is no positive proof to see any physical phenomena in the 'bird' that brings soma³. It has also been shown that this myth of 'a bird bringing divine drink' obtains in other mythologies also⁴. On examining the material available to him Macdonell concludes that the idea of the 'sweet drink' was a creation of the Indo-European period and that, in India, it gave rise to the idea of Soma, as in Greece to 'mead' in the Indo-Iranian period. Oldenberg seems to be quite right in pointing out that the physical (or natural, we may say) phenomenon is not warranted. Taking into consideration the existence of the myth in other mythologies the 'natural' method of interpretation would not be well applicable here. The 'iron-fortress' which the bird 'Śyena' is said to take away soma need not again be the cloud. There seems to be a constant quest for the immortal liquor or the 'water of life' in the mind of the ancient man recorded by various mythologies⁵.

Opinions regarding the identification of the Moon and Soma (the juice) originated from such passages where soma is said to be married to the Sun's

* Read at the International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi-1964. Jan.

¹ Hillebrandt—'Vedische Mythologie'—P. 309

² Bloomfield—J.A.O.S. Vol. XVI-P-1-24.

³ Oldenberg—'Die Religion des Rgveda'—P. 177, 180. The oldest account of the bird bringing Soma see Rg. V. IV-26 and 27.

⁴ Macdonell—Vedic Mythology (Hindi. Tr.) P. 216. Oldenberg—Op. cit., P. 176.

⁵ We shall note a few examples further on; see for example The Zu bird from the Babylonian Mythology; Wang Shu from the Chinese Mythology—mentioned further on.

daughter,⁶ where Soma is said to be in the midst of stars,⁷ and the saying "none eats of the Soma that is known to the preceptor (Purohita)," and which is said to be different from the one that is pressed.⁸ Here, Soma that is different from the one that is pressed, is believed to be the moon-god by some scholars,⁹ while according to a recent opinion it indicates 'Corporeal' Soma-viz. the inner physical power which could be utilised for meditation (Samādhi).¹⁰ It is possible that Soma, when drunk, caused a state of hallucination leading the drinker to fanciful imagination which itself might have been referred to as another Soma.¹¹

Apart from the point of the identity of the two fold Soma, we shall confine ourselves to see if there is a definite scheme in the R̥gveda about the conception of the advent of the Soma, comparing it with a similar conception in other mythologies.

Soma is described as 'maujavata' i.e. growing on mountain (R̥g.V-X-34-1 'Somasyeva maujavatasya'). The same is the implication of the expression where he is said to be residing in the mountain.¹² Macdonell says that the word 'giri' or 'parvata' here refers to the terrestrial mountain. Soma, as we know, is also the 'juice' of the Soma-plant. Looking to the etymology of the word 'Soma', it seems to be clear that the name of the plant (Soma) is suggested from the 'juice'; and that the word 'Soma' was applied to the juice primarily and to the plant only secondarily.¹³ It should be noted that the word generally used for this juice of the Soma-plant is 'induh' or 'drapsa' which hints at the original conception of the first oozed out 'drop'.¹⁴ This 'indu' i.e. the 'drop' is said to be the god.¹⁵ This would mean that the Soma juice

⁶ R̥g. X-85

⁷ *Ibid*—85-2

⁸ *Ibid*—3

⁹ Cf. Macdonell *op.cit.*, P. 214, also Sāyaṇa on R̥g. X-85-3

¹⁰ Cf. T. R. Kulkarni in 'Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress—1961, Pt. IV, pp. 119 to 121.

¹¹ It may also be noted that Soma is said to reside in every part of the body cf. R̥g. V-VIII-48-9; but this probably refers to the effect of Soma when actually drunk and not Soma as an inner fluid of the body.

¹² R̥g. IX-46-1—*Kṣarantaḥ parvatāvṛdhāḥ*; also—95-4 'amśum duhanti ukṣaṇam giriṣṭhām'. For the origin of the Soma plant see Roth ZDMG 38; 134-9 MaxMuller's Biographies of words' London-1888 P. 222-42.

¹³ from √Su to press—'Soma' would mean 'the pressed one' or the (plant) to be pressed.

¹⁴ R̥g. IX-89-2—apsu drapso vāvṛdhe; also for 'drapsa' see—IX-85-10, 78-4, IX-51-3—tava tya indo andhaso devā madhor vyaśnute also—77-4.

¹⁵ *Ibid*—IX-51-3; X-115-3—cf. Svyāyudhā pavate deva induh.

at the sacrifice embodies the first drop ('*drapsa*') that is divine, which is mystically *pressed* from the plant which is *hence called Soma*. This drop, that is divine, is invoked at the sacrifice with the same honour as other gods. It is this drop that is called '*andhas*' (nourishing food) and is said to descend from heaven, upon the earth,¹⁶—naturally in the sacrificial Soma-plant on the mountain top.

We now turn to another point in the Saga of Soma. Very often Soma is said to be '*milked*' connecting it with a cow-symbol. Thus, the shoots of this miraculous plant are said to '*milch*' like the udder of a cow.¹⁷ The fountain ('*utsa*') of Soma is said to be in the midst of cows.¹⁸ Soma is identified with the cow when it is said to be bound by ten straps ('*Valgā*'). It is said to be a '*milking branch*' that is being chewed by the pressing stones.¹⁹ It would, thus, indicate that the divine drop is full of milk and is said to be mystically gathered in a branch *i.e.* the Soma plant. To complete the identification of the Soma and the cow, as it were, we have a ritual in the Brahmanic sacrifice according to which, in the rite of purchase of Soma, a cow is to be given as the price of Soma, and the colour of the cow is said to be white or ruddy, *because* Soma is also of the same colour.²⁰ It will be interesting to note that the stones that are used to press the shoots of the Soma-plant are laid on the hide of the cow.²¹ This indicates that the Soma juice is thought to be the essence from the cow. Connecting this idea with the one where the divine drop or the fountain is said to be in the midst of the (heavenly) cows, we get the conception that the divine drop that lies in the midst of the heavenly cows, is to be mystically gathered in the terrestrial cow.

We have already noted that, while talking about Soma, the Vedic sages have imagined a well or a *fountain* ('*utsa*') of Soma in the midst of the cows. This well (of honey) is also said to be in the highest step of *viṣṇu* (Rg. I-154-5) where there are multi-horned cows.

Which are these cows? Commenting on the passage where the word

¹⁶ Rg. IX-61-10 *uccā te jātam andhaso diviṣad bhumi-ādade* for '*andhasa*' meaning nutritious food see Rg. VIII-32-28; X-94-8.

¹⁷ Cf. *Ibid*—VIII-9-19 *gāvo na durh ūdhabhiḥ*; VII-98-1.

¹⁸ —V-45-8; VI-44-24.

¹⁹ —X-94-3—*Vṛkṣasya śākhām aruṇasya bapsataḥ*. This idea can be compared with the Chinese mythical idea, wherein two goats are said to be eating the divine branch. (cf. *Myths of China and Japan* by Donald Maikenzie).

²⁰ Taitt. Sam—VI-1-6-1; Śatapatha Br. III. 3-1-34; for the Colour of Soma—VII-98-1.

²¹ Rg. IX-79-4.

'bhūriśṛṅgāḥ' (multi-horned) occurs (Rg. I-154-5) Yāska takes it to mean 'the rays of the sun'.²² Peterson, following Sāyaṇa, takes it to mean the stars with myriad rays.²³ The fountain (utsa) is said to be in the highest place.²⁴ which clearly means the sky, though Sāyaṇa takes it as the sacrificial place. Even if we accept Sāyaṇa's interpretation, it could be so done only secondarily, taking the sacrifice to mean the ritualistic representation of the heavenly phenomena on the earth. The gods are said to be born of the cows (go-jātaḥ).²⁵ Aditi is called the cow²⁶ and she is identified with the 'Sky' and is said to give milk to the gods.²⁷ Elsewhere Soma is compared with the milk of Aditi,²⁸ thus helping their identification. In sacrificial ritual the consecrated cow is said to be Aditi²⁹—the very 'sky-goddess' symbolically represented on the earth at the sacrifice. Now, the 'divine fountain', in the midst of the cows, whence 'Indu' or the 'drapsa' (the divine drop) oozes, can be nothing but the mystic 'well' in the midst of the stars, or in the very lap of the sky-cow Aditi.³⁰ Soma that is gathered from the 'shoots' at the sacrifice represents the 'drop' that comes from the *divine fountain* that lies closely associated with the *cow-of-the-sky*. The descent from heaven of the divine 'drop' is the first stage in the advent of Soma. This 'drop' is *fertilizing, generative and en-vigorating*. It is the very life-essence—which has the potentiality to give heavenly life of immortality to those who might taste it. It is represented in the sacrifice by Soma which was a drink of restricted gain, and was offered very sparingly. Even some of the divinities (like the Aśvinau) had to qualify for its gain zealously.

This reminds one of similar beliefs in the fertilizing 'drop' from heaven or from the stars elsewhere. An emperor of China is said to have constructed a huge and high tower on the top of which he would keep a pot to get the morning dew directly from the stars for gaining a length of life.³¹ In ancient Egypt

²² Nirukta-II-7.

²³ 'Hymns from R̥gveda' Bombay Sanskrit Series XXXVI-1924.

²⁴ V-45-8, Utsa āsām parame sadhasthe.

²⁵ Vedic Mythology (Hindi Tr.) P. 286.

²⁶ Vājasaneyi Sam. XIII-43-49.

²⁷ Rg. X-63-3.

²⁸ Ibid IX-96-15.

²⁹ Macdonell Op. cit.—P. 206, for Aditi being the cow. See VIII-101-15.

³⁰ It is this 'sky-cow' (studded with stars) that is symbolically killed for offering at the sacrifice. Clearly, the sacrifice of the cow was for mystically imbibing the essence of the sky-cow and ensure good crops and cattle. This sky-cow is, doubtless, Aditi. For cows sacrificed see Rg. V-85-13.

³¹ 'Myths of China & Japan'—Donald Mackenzie,

obtains a belief in the fertilizing ray that oozed from the moon. Osiris, who is said to be the son of the sky-mother (in the form of the cow), is said to have been conceived from the fertilizing ray of light that fell from the moon.³² According to the Japanese mythology the drinker of the dew of immortality was a *moon-girl* who drank from the bowl of the moon.³³ The 'drop' (drapsa) that is said to descend from heaven, comes very very close to the fertilizing ray of the moon or the first dew from the stars, both connected with the heaven (or the sky). If the cows with multiple horns are to be taken as 'rays' or the stars as we have noted from the authorities, the 'drapsa' would easily mean the *first divine drop* from the heavenly rays or from a fountain amidst the stars. This fountain amidst the stars gives out the drop-'indu'. 'Indu' seems properly to mean the 'drop' from the moon, which in later periods gets to be called both 'Soma' and 'indu'. It seems probable, hence, that, (though it may be said that the R̥gveda does not have a clear identification between the moon and the Soma-juice) in the R̥gveda period itself the conception of a divine drop from the moon was strongly cultivated. *This 'drop' from the moon is invoked as the god* and is lauded like other gods in the sacrifice. It is the very essence of the moon-god, who is on a different par from the other gods; for he is 'killed' [pressed. The word used in the context is '*Ghanti*'] and eaten for nourishment by other gods and is undying in the real sense of the word. It only changes the form which vanishes to give sustenance to the gods and is reborn (juice-form) in sacrifice as in the heaven (moon-form) very much like osiris who gets killed and is brought back to life in the famous osirian ritualistic drama.³⁴

The next point is the absorption of the 'drop' in the plant (called Soma) as it reaches the earth. The plant, as we have noted, is identified with the udder of the cow. Thus the plant oozes from the fountain among the cows and gets absorbed in *another* cow (in the form of the plant.) This is the second stage in the advent. The 'drop' reaches the mountain a high place on the earth and, as it were, *gets changed into the plant*³⁵. This could be clear from the R̥gv., where Soma is addressed as follows:—

³² Ibid—P. 150. The name of the cow-sky-goddess is Hathor. She is said to have star-specked belly which reminds us of the Vedic sacrificial cow described as having prominent spots (cf. Sthūlapr̥ṣatim ānadvāhim ālabheta'. For Hathor having a star-speked belly Cf. 'Myth and symbol of Ancient Egypt' —Rundle Clark (London-1926.)

³³ Donald Mackenzie *op. cit.*, p. 152.

³⁴ For which see Rundle Clark 'Myth and Symbol in ancient Egypt' and Donlad Mackenzie-Op.cit.

³⁵ It could be seen how the usually understood meaning of 'giri' as the 'cloud' is unnecessary; and could be only a secondary one,

" O Soma of divine abode, that art generated high in heaven ! of thy juice *the earth doth procure* '. (Note 16 above).

Further we have.

" (What) excellent (juice) of thine was procured in the naval of heaven, that same sprouted up *on the summit of the earth* (doubtless the mountain), being sprinkled thereupon. The pressing stones eat of thee on the hide of the cow. Thee did the wise ones *milk* with their (palm)—in the water " .³⁶

The latter clearly brings out the principle underlying the descent of Soma, as we have already noted.

The close association of the ' Utsa ' (the well) and the plant that imbibes the ' drop ' from it on the earth is to be noted outside India also. The Chinese ' *dragon-well* ' is usually situated inside a deep mountain-cave. It flows from a cave called ' golden well-spring ' .³⁷ In the Chinese mythical tale of the ' Blue Boy ' we have the Blue Boy residing in a well in a high mountain. He darts to heaven from the well and disappears in the clouds that rain heavily to the utter amazement of a certain Wang Shu who was wandering to obtain the herb of immortality. When the rain subsides, the Blue Boy returns to the well and disappears. Now, on the bank of the mountain well, Wang Shu finds a peculiar herb sprouting out. He takes it away ; for it is the herb of immortality .³⁸ The herb is generated from the drop of the divine cloud, which itself is formed from the divine well high in the mountain. Similarly, in the legend of ' Gilgamesh ' we have the ' plant of life ', and the well of ' *immortality* ' associated with the adventures of the hero .³⁹ The ' well ' of immortality that sends the ' drop ' and sustains the herb of immortality can be seen, in the sacrificial ritual of the Aryans in ancient India, to be represented by the ' *Vasatīvarī* '—waters, where the pressed out shoots of Soma are placed for getting ' re-swelled ', the indication of which is to be found as early as the *R̥gv* .⁴⁰ Here is a clear indication of the belief in the ' living waters ' that are apt to give immortality, and which

³⁶ *R̥gv*. IX-79-4-divi te nābhā paramo ya ādade pṛthivy āste ruruḥḥ sānavi kṣipah/

adrayastavā bapsati goradhi twaci-apsu hastair duduhur manīṣipah
[Translation-byd the author]

³⁷ Donald Mackenzie op. cit., p. 55.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 80 ; there is also another herb called the ' Red-cloud-herb '—
P-79.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 109 ; also see ' Myths of Babylonia and Assyria by the same author.

⁴⁰ Cf. *R̥g*. IX.89.2 (and Sāyaṇa's note thereon) apsu drapso vāvṛdha
'—apsu vasatīvariṣu '.

represent the heavenly 'utsa'. Now here is an interesting phenomenon. The 'drop' is restored in the pressed out shoots of the Soma-plant by the '*Vasatīvari*' waters, and at the same time, by this ritual, the 'drop' of Soma is said to swell the waters. Soma is elsewhere said to be the lord of the waters—both the oceans and streams⁴¹ both the cosmic waters and the terrestrial ones. The cosmic waters give place to the actual rain drops and Soma is said to impell rain (Rg. X.30.9) and causes the waters to expand in the form of rain and the streams on the earth. The heavenly 'drop' that is said to be in the celestial 'utsa' (well) in the midst of the cows is represented in the sacrifice by the Soma-juice as going to the tub (Kalaśa) of Soma which also is called 'Utsa'.⁴² Thus from the divine 'well' to the high peak on the earth and thence to the 'utsa'—(Kalaśa) in the sacrifice is the advent of the 'drop'. The whole purpose of the Soma-sacrifice is thus to bring the divine 'drop'—the 'indu' which is the essence of the moon or the starry region and is invoked as a divinity—to the sacrifice. When it is symbolically brought forth after the pressing of the Soma-plant which is gathered from the mountain, the constant flow of life, food and water is ensured water in rivers, food in the plants and the cows, and continued life in the sacrificer and those who partake of the juice.⁴³ Hence this divine drop—now Soma-juice—is ritualistically mixed with water, milk (whence '*gavāśīra*') and barley (*Yavāśīra*) representing prosperity in plants, milk, water, and grain. Milk represents the cows and Soma-juice (the divine-drop) mixing with milk gives fertility to the cows. Hence this 'drop'—now sacrificial Soma—described as a youth in the midst of cows.⁴⁴ Without the ritual of sacrifice this was not supposed to be accomplished. The 'drop' that is so potential in swelling the earthly flood,⁴⁵ and gives immortality, figures prominently, in the Brahmanic tale of the '*Somāharaṇa*' (the bringing of Soma), where the R̥gvedic bird Śyena-Suparna gives place to the metres and the 'mantras' obviously to establish the importance of the sacrificial ritual and the efficacy of the 'mantras'.

⁴¹ Ibid.86.33 'rāja sindhūnām pavate patir divaḥ cf. also Ibid.15.5; 89.2, 85.10.

⁴² X 30.9 'madacyutam auśaṇam nabhojampari tri-tantum Vicarantam Utsam.'

⁴³ The famous tale of the advent of the Ganges is only a phase of this motif. The river *drops* from the star-path (called ākāśa-gaṅgā) on the mountain Kailāsa and thence flows upon the earth. Mark the name 'tripathagā' (going along three paths) given to her.

⁴⁴ Rg. V.45.9; IX.9.5.

⁴⁵ Compare with this the idea of a tear from Atum swelling the Nile. Rundale Clark—*op. cit.* P. 84; also a drop from the star sirius (sky-cow and the mother of the sun god) flooding the Nile—Donald Mackenzie—'Myths of China and Japan, p. 64.

thus connecting the myth to the magical symbolism in action. It is here that the myth gets transacted into ritual.⁴⁶

It would be, thus clear that the 'bringing of Soma' by the Śyena-Suparṇa is only a phase of the general saga of the 'Advent of the divine drop'. Once the conception of the divine drop oozing out from the sky is rooted in imagination, it is natural to have a myth of some powerful personality to get it from such a forbidden place. This personality will naturally be super-human and more probably a great bird that could fly aloft-right upto the high region on the earth or right into the domain of the sky. As we have seen, the 'rain' is only a phase of the 'divine-drop'. In the same way the bird that brings it could only be a mythic bird, and it is not necessary—or rather it is wrong—to suppose that the bird is the lightning or any other natural phenomena, as Bloomfield has done. The zeal for longevity and immortality in man is great and the myth is the product of that zeal. Hence the expression of this zeal in a number of folk-tales widely spread in the world. The bringer of this 'drink of immortality' sometimes is a man-like the Babylonian Gilgamesh or the Chinese Wang Shu—or the bird Zu who stole the tablets of the immortal,⁴⁷ or the Śyena-Suparṇa of the ancient Indian Aryans. It is this conception of a celestial 'drop' or 'divine drink' that could be found in the wide-spread belief in the *island of the Blessed*, or the 'floating island' where nobody dies—the very 'Swarga' that is known to the Ancient Indians, with its secret of immortality. The secret of the most invigorating 'drop' could naturally be as well guarded as the drink itself. Hence it could be said to be in the very interior of forts which the hero, whosoever he might be, has to destroy. This fort need not be the 'cloud' as the adherents of the Nature-theory would have us believe. The conception of the 'divine-drop' and that of the 'bringer' of it are closely connected. Hence it is usual to find in the tales of the 'cultural hero', the fetching of a plant of life or the water of immortality as one of the exploits, that necessarily gets associated with the killing of the guards and destroying of the 'prison' that holds the 'divine food or drink'.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ A similar conception can be seen in the present day Hindu festival of 'Kojāgiri'—which is held on the first full moon day of the Autumn. In the night a big cauldron of milk is boiled with cardamom, saffron and other ingredients, in the open, *so as to get the reflection of the moon into the vessel*. The idea is to get the nectar from the moon in the milk. This seems exactly similar to the idea of the 'fertilizing ray' or the '*indu-drapsa*' from the moon, mixing with the milk, and reminds one of the actual mixing of the Soma-juice (the terrestrial form of the '*drapsa*') with milk, in the Vedic sacrifice.

⁴⁷ Donald Mackenzie—'Myths of Babylonia and Assyria'.

⁴⁸ A number of such tales could be cited as example e.g. the 'Gulabakāvali'—Ceylonese folk-tale. 'The water of life'—(Grimm) etc. etc.

THE IMPLICATION OF OM IN PHILOSOPHY

By

B. S. AGNIHOTRI, Darbhanga

Indian Philosophers in the field of philosophy never remained satisfied with mere intellectual feats or verbal quibblings. They attained that philosophic height where they could find nothing more that has yet remained to be obtained or aspired for complete happiness and full realization of man's life. This philosophic height is termed in Upaniṣadic philosophy as the realization of Brahman, the realization of the identity of the individual soul with Paramātmān, the realization of the mystic significance of Jīva in its absolute transcendental nature and so on. About this realization it is said,

मयि जीवत्वमीशत्वं कल्पितं वस्तुनो नहि ।
इति यस्तु विजानाति स मुक्तो नात्र संशयः ॥

This highest ideal is not the subject of the senses because the field of the latter is restricted to the ephemeral things of the world. Due to Ātman's being beyond any form, it is not the subject of the senses. It lacks any distinguishing mark and hence it is not the subject of any inference. It can be realized only by adhering to the implications of the Śrutis and following closely the injunctions of the Vedas. The Upaniṣadic portions of the Vedas have laid down important ways and means for the realization of Brahman and in so doing they have resorted to letter OM which is the symbol of Brahman. One Upaniṣad says, ओमित्येकाक्षरं परं ब्रह्म and in this Brahman merges everything.

निरञ्जने विलीयेते मनोवायू न संशयः
नानाकोटिसहस्राणि बिन्दुकोटिशतानि च
सर्वे तत्र लयं यान्ति ब्रह्मप्रणवनादके ॥

The Vedic sages have attached to this OM that mystic meaning by which they tried to solve the riddle of the world. The worshippers, though laid down stress on the worship of the symbols and idols yet in truth the target of realization is described as beyond all these. The Brahman, which is the highest glory, cannot be known from above and below, from middle and from side. It has in reality no Pratimā,—the symbol. "Yet by knowing that entity, there is complete release from all fetters, from all diseases, from birth and death. That Brahman is described only by one word and only by one symbol OM. All this is OM. It is the highest substratum; yoke yourself to this. OM is Brahman." God Yama, in his advice to Naciketas in Kathopaniṣad says in nutshell "That highest is nothing but OM which is described so much by the Vedas and for knowing that highest, all the austerities are undertaken. This is the highest and the noble

support and knowing this, one attains Brahman." The Chāndogya Upaniṣad designates OM as Udgītha and says that Udgītha is the sap of all sapid things. It bestows on the meditator all the things he desires. What is Udgītha is Praṇava and what is Praṇava is Udgītha and all this is OM. Even God Sun goes round the world by uttering the sound OM. That which is the chief Breath is nothing but Udgītha. It should be meditated upon as OM; for, that Breath, too goes round the world by uttering the sacred syllable OM.

Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad gives for the first time the detailed exposition of Om-kāra. It says that what is Brahman is all this and this is Om-kāra. What was in the past and what is in the present and what shall be in the future is all OM. Even what is beyond time is OM. This Brahman is the highest Ātman. OM is Ātman. It has the characteristic of being Akṣara and Asvara. In the Asvara form OM is Ātman who is void of all the virtues. In it however, there is the seed of resonance (Nāda) and there are four syllables (Pādas) of OM, the A, U, M, and the last, the Amātra Caraṇa. OM, composite as such, is Brahman and yet in OM there are contained the individual forms which are four in their components and these are identified with the waking, the dream, the sleeping condition and the Sākṣībhāva. A is that state of Ātman which is called Viśva in the isolated form, identical with the waking condition. The same A is Vaiśvānara when all the Viśvas are thought of cumulatively. It illuminates and enjoys all gross objects. It has even limbs and nineteen senses. This is the first Caraṇa of OM taken separately. All this mundane existence that is visualized in the waking state has its beginning in the portion A of OM. A is, therefore, the tutelary deity in which the whole Prapañca of the waking state merges at the time of dissolution. The second Caraṇa of Om-kāra is U. This is identical with Taijasa, that individual functioning portion of Ātman who enjoys things in the dream-state. Taken cumulatively, it is called Hiranyagarbha. The third part of OM is M. This is identical with Prājña taken singly. The same is called Īśvara taken collectively. This Prājña is that functioning part of Ātman who enjoys pleasure in sound sleep. He does neither desire anything nor does he see any dream. He is only Ānanda. He is Cetomukha. The collective form of Prājña, the Īśvara, is the cause of all; from Him emits the whole world and in him again it dissolves at the time of destruction. OM as identical with Ātman is one composite whole. It is then Asvara and Akṣara. The same when tri-partitioned into A, U, M is identical with Viśva, Taijasa and Prājña in singular capacity and with Vaiśvānara, Hiranyagarbha and Īśvara taken collectively respectively. All the Jivas remain in either of these three conditions, the waking, the dream and the sleep and enjoy the various objects of pleasures and yet beyond these states, there is the Turiya, the fourth condition which is boundless, because of its being beyond all measures. It is of the nature of Asvara and Akṣara. OM from the non-resounding (Asvara) point of view, is Brahman, but

from the resounding (Svara) point of view it is a means to attain Brahman. It is said, ओमिति ह्येतदक्षरमिदं सर्वम् । ओंकारविकारशब्दामिवेश्वर सर्वः प्रागादिरात्मविकल्पोऽभिधानव्यतिरेकेण नास्ति । तत्र तावदोकारप्राधान्यमात्मप्रतिपत्त्युपायभूतम् । एतदालम्बनं श्रेष्ठम् । ओमेत्यात्मानं युञ्जीत । The highest Brahman is realized by resorting to the symbol OM. By knowing what is beyond even the resounding part of the word OM can Yogi, becoming above all the doubts, go to the highest abode.

In the other way of the division of OM, A is identified with Prajāpati, U with Viṣṇu and M with Maheśvara. He who does not concentrate on OM, does not attain Brahman. Om-kāra is the source of all the Gods, the worlds and the letters: With regard to concentration on it, Dhyānabhinidūpaniṣad says,

हृत्सो दहति पापानि दीर्घः संपत्प्रदोऽव्ययः ।

अर्धमात्रासमायुक्तः प्रणवो मोक्षदायकः ॥

Brahman is Para and Apra. (the highest and lowest). The Para is highest and the Apra is Śabda Brahman. By the utterance of OM, one is able to meditate on the Akṣara Brahman. It is said,

द्वे विधे वेदितव्ये तु शब्दब्रह्मपरं च यत् ।

शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्णातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥

ब्रह्मप्रणवसन्धानं नादो ज्योतिर्मयः शिवः ।

स्वयमाविर्भवेदात्मा मेधापायेऽश्नुमानिव ॥

Om-kāra has the resounding power. OM is only Akṣara and Asvara Brahman. These are two implications of OM. The former is Apra; while the latter is Para. The one is Nāda, Nāma and Rūpa (the sound, the name and the form) the other is imperishable and without verbal or tangible modification. The one is a means to the other which is an aim. This aim implies the realization of Advaitabhāva whence ensues Prapañcopaśama—the submerging of all the dualities.

OM as Svara is Om-kāra that reveals itself into Śabda (word). This is the characteristic of Ākāśa. So, OM begets both Ākāśa and its characteristic mark Śabda. Ākāśa is the substratum of word. From Ākāśa is born wind which is the carrier of word. From wind is born Agni which has the characteristic of form 'RŪPA' and Vāk. That expresses the word and gives it a definite shape, is Agni. From Agni is born water—Āp; (Rasa) the taste is its special characteristic. Prāṇa is of the nature of water and only when there is Prāṇa (the breath), can a word be uttered. Water gives rise to earth. Smell is the chief characteristic of it and sound is produced by an intermediary of the earthly elements. Thus we can say that Om-kāra is Pravṛtti-Svarūpa, (having movement as its chief characteristic); OM is Prakāśa-Svarūpa, (of the nature of illumination and all-pervasive). From Omkāra is born everything while OM is the substratum. From Omkāra is born the first element Ākāśa with Śabda as its Guṇa and thence follow wind, fire, water, earth with their distinctive features, touch, form, taste, and smell respectively. Omkāra is both Abhidhāna and Abhidheya, the name

attached to the actual material object and the actual material object itself and in philosophy they are one because of the world's being possessed of the Nāma and Rūpa only. Omkāra is Svāra and Kṣāra. OM is Asvāra and Akṣāra. Omkāra is nothing but Aparā Brahman, the lower form of OM. OM when split up into A, U, M is all this and its last measure is Sākṣibhāva who is all-pervasive. When the former measure is merged into the latter then the Sākṣibhāva is attained. सोऽयमात्मोकाराभिधेयः परापरत्वेन व्यवस्थितश्चतुष्पात्कार्पाणवन्न गौरिवेति । त्रयाणां विश्वादीनां पूर्वपूर्वप्रविलापनेन तुरीयस्य प्रतिपत्तिः । As long as this condition is not attained till then all the animals carry on their movements in either of these conditions but the Jīva, the doer, of all the actions is the same as Sākṣin. When the former awakens from the deep slumber of this mundane existence, then only he attains the latter condition. अनादिमायया सुप्तो यदा जीवः प्रबुध्यते । अजमनिद्रमस्वप्नमद्वैतं बुध्यते तदा ॥ Omkāra is in time but OM is without time. Omkāra is conditioned and undergoes modifications. OM is beyond any condition and modifications. Yet OM and Omkāra are one. OM is all this.

Meditation on Omkāra should be practised. It is said, एतदालम्बनं श्रेष्ठमेतदालम्बनं परम् । एतदालम्बनं ज्ञात्वा ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥ There is two-fold method to this. Utter the sound OM in high pitch. Let utterance be long. Then the ending M will merge into Amātra form which is of the nature of bliss. Here Svāra becomes Asvāra and this leads to realization. The second method is of application to Nāda, the resonance which is heard in the right ear when both the ears are pressed and closed by the fingers. The resonance in the beginning is the nature of the rumbling of cloud; then it is followed by the noise like that of the noise of the bells. Attaching to this Nāda the Highest is reached. It is said to this effect,

शृणुयादक्षिणे कर्णे नादमन्तर्गतं सदा ।
 अभ्यस्यमानो नादोऽयं ब्रह्ममावृणुते ध्वनिः ।
 आदौ जघ्निजीमूतमेरीनिर्झरसंभवः ।
 अन्ते तु किंकिणीवंशवीणाभ्रमरनिःस्वनः ॥
 इति नानाविधा नादाः श्रूयन्ते सूक्ष्मसूक्ष्मतः ॥
 विस्मृत्य सकलं बाह्यं नादेदुग्धाम्बुवन्मनः ।
 एकीभूयाथ सहसा चिदाकाशे विलीयते ॥
 सर्वे तत्र लयं यान्ति ब्रह्मप्रणवनादके ।
 सर्वाविस्थाविनिर्मुक्तः सर्वचिन्ताविवर्जितः ।
 मृतवत्तिष्ठते योगी स मुक्तो नात्र संशयः ॥

In the Yoga-system of Patañjali OM is merely the Vācaka of God (Īśvara). Japa of OM is prescribed. By this the obstacles that come into the way of Samādhi, are overcome.

OM has lost practically all its importance in the Bhakti cult. Here, instead of chanting of the OM or the application to Nāda with meditation on OM, the utterance of the name of God as Śrīrāma, Śrīkṛṣṇa is laid stress as the sure means to Mukti. The utterance of the name of God should be with prayers and longing

heart. Then God presents himself before the devotee and the latter attains Mukti.

OM is one and Para-Brahman. It should be meditated upon. This is the hypothesis of the Upaniṣads. This OM is divided variously from the Bhakti point of view. It is firstly divided into eight forms, A, U, M, Bindu, Nāda, Kalā, Kalātītā and Tatpara (the highest stage). The significance of the eight forms is the following. From A sprang up Brahma having the other name Jambuvat. From U is born Upendra, the Harināyaka. From M came out Śiva, the same as Hanumat. From Bindu (the Nāda point) is born Śatrughna. Nāda is the same as Bharata. From Kalā is born Lakṣmaṇa. From Kalātītā appeared Sītā and the Tatpara is the same Śrīrāma. तत्परः परमात्मा च श्रीरामः पुरुषोत्तमः । ओमित्येतदक्षरमिदं सर्वम् । Thus the eight forms of OM are shown identical with the full manifestations of the God Śrīrāma.

When applied to Lord Kṛṣṇa A is shown identical with Rāma the son of Rohinī. U is identical with Pradyumna. M is identical with Aniruddha and Kṛṣṇa is of the nature of the last measure, the Turiya in whom is rested the whole world. According to this division of OM, Mūla Prakṛti is Rukmiṇī from whom the world came into being. Therefore, Rukmiṇī is called Praṇava-Prakṛti and OM in its unity and supreme nature is Gopāla who is Asvara and Akṣara. The same Gopāla in his Svara form is the Nāda of his flute. So, one should meditate on Gopāla. And this is the same as meditation on OM. It is said, तस्मादौकारसंभूतो गोपालो विश्वसंस्थितिः । चतुर्भुजं शङ्खचक्रशार्ङ्गपद्मगदान्वितम् । सुकेयूरान्वितं बाहुं कण्ठं माला-सुशोभितम् । ध्यायेन्मनसि मां नित्यं वेणुशृङ्गधरं तु वा । स मुक्तो भवति । तस्मै च आत्मानं ददामीति । परमानन्दसंदेहो वासुदेवोऽहमिति । प्रज्ञानधनमानन्दं ब्रह्मास्मीति विभावयेत् ॥ In the Bhagavadgītā OM is identified with Vāsudeva who is all this and devotion to Him is said to lead to Brahma-bhāva.

In devotion to Lord Gaṇapati his identity is shown with GAM (गम्) and this is further shown identical with OM. GAM is the same as GĀM (गं) and this is divided into the seven Padas, G, A, Anusvāra, Bindu, Nāda, Saṃhitā and Ōṃ where OM and GĀM are shown as one and meditation on GĀM leads to Mukti. The Gaṇeśa is shown identical with Brahman and his worship is said to remove all sins and obstacles. But the worship should always be begun with GĀM, which is the same as OM. It is said of Śrī Gaṇapati, ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्मैवं सर्वम् सर्वं ह्येतद्गणेशोऽयमात्मा ब्रह्मेति । स एष सर्वेश्वरः । स गणेश आत्मा विद्महे ।

In Bhakti cult Omkāra took the form of deity and meditation of Saṅga and Sākāra Brahman with prayers and devotion to the form of either Śrīrāma, Śrīkṛṣṇa, Śrīgaṇeśa or Śiva or Devī was thought of as a means to obtain every prosperity and overcome the Saṃsāra. While in Omkāropāsanā, meditation had important place, in Saṅgopāsanā, Bhakti took the place of meditation.

The only conclusion of OM is that meditation on it leads to Tatpara-bhāva. It is said,

मनः सर्वत्र संयम्य ओंकारं तत्र चिन्तयेत् ।
ध्यायेत सततं प्राज्ञो हृत्कृत्वा परमेष्ठिनम् ।
तदा पश्यति योगेन संसारच्छेदनं परम् ॥

INSCRIPTIONS FROM JAGAT, RAJASTHAN

By

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The Temple of Ambikā at Jagat is situated at a distance of about 27 miles from Udaipur via Jhāmeśvara and about 35 miles via Korāvaḍa by bus routes. It is an elegant edifice of the 10th century A.D. and remains duly protected and cared for by the State Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan. A brief note, about the sculptural wealth from Jagat, was published by me in *Lalitakalā*, Bombay-Delhi, No. 6 and *Maru Bhārati*, Hindī, Pilani, V (i), April 1957, pp. 56-57. It is now proposed to present the legible portions of some important mediaeval inscriptions engraved on the pillars of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of this Temple as they are important for the history of the region. The same may be noted as follows :—

I. Inscription of V. S. 1017

The left hand side pillar bears a small epigraph of four lines and dated 5th of the dark half Vaiśākha in *saṃvat* 1017. It refers to the perpetual salutations to goddess Ambā Devī by a person named Samvapurā, the son of Valluka. The former reconstructs (पुनः संस्कारं कर्त्तारो) or conserves the step-wells, wells, tanks, gardens and buildings (lines 3-4). He obtains the fruit of devotion.¹ Just below line 4, the word कर्त्तारो suggests that *Samvapurā* was probably the builder of this particular Temple at Jagat and that is very very important indeed.

- Line 1. ओं संवत् १०१७ वैशाखवदि ५ ॥ श्री अम्बा दे—
 „ 2. वी पादान् । वल्लुक सुत्त सम्वपुरा प्रणम्यति नित्यं ॥
 „ 3. वापीकूपतडागेषु । उद्यान भवनेषु च पुनः संस्का— ।
 „ 4. रं कर्त्तारो । लभते मूलिकं फलं
 „ 5. × कर्त्तारो ×

Here some of the letters are quite bold ; lines 2 and 3 are a bit lengthy and the total space covered by the text comes to 22" × 8". The *mātrā* of *ū* in lines 3 and 4 resembles the *mātrā* of *r* and circle respectively. The language is *Sanskrit* and script is *Kuṭila*.

The lintel of the entrance porch here bears a small inscription of two lines, probably referring to some donation in V. S. 1142 (संवत् ११४२ कार्तिक वदि ५) for goddess Ambikā Devī. Both these inscriptions have remained unnoticed so far.

¹ *Mūlika* in line 4 = devotee, ascetic; V. M. Apte's *Skt. English Dict.*, 1924, Bombay, p. 769. This is quite an unusual phrase. The name of the contemporary ruler has not been engraved here and we do not know the names of the masters of the locality between V. S. 1011 and 1028.

The Mediaeval Inscriptions on right hand side pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, already noticed by Dr. G. H. Ojha in *History of Dungarpur State*, Hindī, 1936, Ajmer. pp. 35-38, 55 and *Bhāratiya Vidyā* (Hindī), II (2), pp. 232-233, may be presented as follows:—

II. *Inscription of Sāmanta Siṃha* dated Thursday—the 7th day of the bright half of Phālguna in V. S. 1228. It states that *Mahārāja* Sāmanta Siṃha, the Guhila Ruler of Mewar, had made an award of a golden *Kulaśa* (स्वर्णमय कलशं) for the goddess Ambikā:—

- Line 1. संवत् १२२८ वरिखे फाल्गु—
 „ 2. न सुदि ७ गुरौ श्री अंबिका
 „ 3. देवि महाराज श्री सामन्त
 „ 4. सिंघ देवेन सुवर्णमय
 „ 5. कलसं प्रदत्तं श्री सामंत
 „ 6. सीधे विधिपूजेन वसंतयुग
 „ 7. पुण्यादकं प्रदकर करवान
 „ 8. बलील पराक्रम त्रिषी कृत
 „ 9. वीरवन्ताः कंपजरे रिपु च मूकग
 „ 10. पि प्रगटः ॥ सुवराकूष प्रणम्यहं

The last four lines of this epigraph are not very important and not even pretty clear. An earlier inscription² of this very ruler and dated in V. S. 1224 has been recently discovered in the Temple of Ghaṇṭālī Mātā at Jaswantgarh, near Gogundā (Mewar):—

- Line 1. कं संवत् १२२४ चैत्र सुदी ४ रवि दिने रोहिणी न—
 „ 2. क्षेत्रे सौभाग्य जोगे श्री घंटा देव्या प्रासाद श्री महारा—
 „ 3. जाविराज श्री सावंतसिंघ विजयराज्ये राठवड विह
 „ 4. सुत महुषण कारापित ॥ मोहण कंठ इला घंटादेवि
 „ 5. चाहड विहडा अष्टिका षेड स्थाने सत्रधार धवलसुत
 „ 6. लषमणेन.... अरहडसुत कु (व)राजियं

This inscription therefore pushes the earlier limits of Śāmantasiṃha's regnal years by four years. His latest extant inscription is dated V. S. 1236 from Solaja. (Dungarpur region).

III. *Inscription of V. S. 1277*

It consists of nine lines and refers to the award of village 'Raunijā' [modern Ronijā, 2 miles from Jagat] for the Devī Temple during the regime of *Mahārāvala* Śihaḍa Deva i.e. on Monday, the 14th day of the bright half of Caitra in V. S. 1277:—

² *Varadā*, Hindī, Bisāū, V (3), July 1962, p. 8 and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta 37 (2-3), June-September 1961, pp. 215-216.

- Line 1. संवत् १२७७ वरिषे चैत्र
 „ 2. सुदि १४ सोमदिने विशा—
 „ 3. खनक्षत्रे तुलवोरंद्रे व्री.
 „ 4. श्री अंबिका देवी महारा—
 „ 5. ऊ श्री सीहड़देव राज्ये
 „ 6. महासां वेल्हणक राण—
 „ 7. रउणीजा^३ ग्रामं धर्म
 „ 8. विषये देवी तादाख्दकं दातव्यं
 „ 9. भटाककजोहड़त्परां....

Sihaḍa⁴ of this inscription was the son of Jayata⁵ Siṃha, the Guhila ruler of Vāgaḍa-Dungarpur territory.

The last extant inscription of Sihaḍa's reign-period is dated V. S. 1291 in the Temple of Vaijvā Mātā in Dungarpur region. His capital was Baḍodā, distant about 30 miles from Dungarpur (*History of Dungarpur*, p. 56— G. H. Ojha). In this inscription he has been called as *Mahārājādhirāja* :—

संवत् १२६१ वर्षे पौष सुदि ३ रवौ ॥ वागडवटपद्रके महाराजाधिराज श्री सीहड़देव विजयोदयी । सर्व-
 मुद्रा....महाप्रधान....वीहड ॥ विंशलपुरे निवसितादेव्याः भोपा महिलणसुत.....वयजाकेन देव्याः प्रासादो....
 नवकाराणित [:] ॥

He had his own *Mahā Pradhāna* whereas the Jagat Inscription of V. S. 1277 refers to his *Mahāsām* (in line 7) i.e. *Mahāsādhivigrahika* in-charge of treaty and warfare. Sihaḍa's son was Vijaya Siṃha⁶ as is evident from the Inscription of V. S. 1306 in the Temple of Ambā Mātā of Jagat itself. The line of the Guhila rulers of Vāgaḍa (Dungarpur), which got separated from the Guhilas of Mewar after Sāmantasiṃha⁷ had retired to that region (Ojha, *History of Udaipur*, I, p. 458), begins as follows :—

³ Modern village of Roṇijā, 2 miles from Jagat.

⁴ A contemporary of Guhila ruler Jaitra Siṃha of Mewar ; cf. *History of Dungarpur*, op. cit., p. 38.

⁵ The *Pākṣikavṛtti* manuscript from Āhāra and dated in V. S. 1309 refers to Jaitra Siṃha as Jayata Siṃha (Ojha, *History of Udaipur*, I, p. 471) who in fact is quite different from Jayatasīha in inscription of V. S. 1306 from Jagat under scrutiny.

⁶ वीजयसंघ in line 5 is विजयसिंह. The word सिंह is used as सीह, संघ and सीघ in the inscriptions cited above. All these are important from linguistic point of view as well. The orthography is quite interesting and so also the calligraphy.

⁷ Three inscriptions of V. S. 1258, in the Sun Temple at Bāmanerā in Mārwar, refer to the ruler as Sāmenta Siṃha who has been taken as Guhila ruler by Dr. H. C. Ray and D. R. Bhandarkar in *Inscriptions of N. India*, nos. 444-445-446 while Dr. Daśaratha Sharma identifies him as the Cāhamāna ruler of Nāḍol [*Early Cauhāna Dynasties*, 1959, Delhi, p. 140].

1. सामंत सिंह = V. S. 1224, 1228, 1236
2. जयत सिंह = nil
3. सीहड देव = V. S. 1277, 1291
4. विजय सिंह = V. S. 1306, 1308

IV. *Inscription of V. S. 1306*

It refers to the royal award of a golden staff [सुवर्ण दंड] for goddess Ambikā in V. S. 1306 by Guhila Vijaya Siṃha-son of Sihaḍa and grandson of Guhila Jayatasimha :—

- Line 1. ओं संवत् १३०६ वर्षे फागुण सुदि ३
 „ 2. रवि दिने रेवती नक्षत्रे मीनस्थिते चंद्रे देवी
 „ 3. अंविक्का सुवर्ण दंड प्रतिष्ठित । गुहिल वं—
 „ 4. से. रा. जयतसीह । पुत्र सीहड पौत्र वी—
 „ 5. जयस्यंघदेवेन । कारापितं वटूक वि(ज)—
 „ 6. यसीहेन ॥

An inscription of V. S. 1308 from the Śiva Temple at Jhārole (near Jagat) also refers to the paramount Guhila ruler of *Vāgaḍa* region :—ऊं संवत् १३०८ वर्षे कार्तिक सुदि १५ सोमे दिने अष्टौह वागडमंडले महाराजकुल श्रीजयस्यंघ देव कल्याणविजयराज्ये झाडोलग्रामे श्री विजयनाथदेव (G. H. Ojha, *History of Dungarpur*, p. 36, f.n. 4). Here the name of the ruler is engraved as *Jaya Siṃha* instead of *Vijaya Siṃha* in Jagat Inscription of V. S. 1306, probably due to some scribe error. The Jhārole inscription specifically refers to the *Mahārājakula* (= *mahārāvala* = *mahārāu*) epithet of the rulers of *Vāgaḍa* territory. *No inscription of Jayata Siṃha of this Vāgaḍa family has of course been found as yet.*

The ancient Temple of Ambikā at Jagat preserves, even today, a number of important *Mātrkā* sculptures, both on the exterior of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the main sanctum. A detailed account of the sculptures studded therein will be submitted through a separate paper incorporating the sculptural and architectural details of other contemporary temples dated V. S. 1016 at Ūnwas, V. S. 1028 at Ekaliṅgajī.....etc., in Mewar.

A CONTEMPORARY SOURCE OF RĀJPŪT-MUSLIM HISTORY— ACHALDĀS KHĪCHĪ RĪ VACHANIKĀ*

By

DASHARATHA SHARMA, Delhi

The Muslim side of the struggle between the Rājput̥s and the Muslims has been represented well by a number of historical chronicles, some of them even written during not long after the life-time of the main actors on the political stage. None dealing with the subject can do without works like the *Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, *Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhī*, *Ma'asir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī* and the *Akbar-nāmā*. But we must have also the Hindu account of the struggle before us, if we are to arrive at historical truth. It is with this objective in view that the Sādul Rājasthānī Research Institute, Bikaner, has so far published four works containing such accounts, all of them however in ḍīngal or old Rājasthānī, the *Padminī-charitra-chaupai*, the *Hamīrāyaṇa*, *Achalḍās Khīchī rī Vachanikā* and the *Dalpat-Vilās*.¹

Of these *Achalḍās Khīchī rī Vachanikā* by Shivdās, a bard of Achalḍās Khīchī of Gāgraun (Koṭā, Rājasthān)², gives a graphic description of the fight between his patron and Hūshang Shāh of Mālṡā, who however is called throughout either Shāh Ālam, which is known from the Lalitpur inscription of V. 1481 (1424 A.D.) to be Hūshang Shāh's title,³ or Gorī Sultān, Ghorī being the name of the dynasty established by Hūshang Shāh's father, Dilāwar Khān Ghorī.

The *Vachanikā* begins with a description of the expedition of the *Maṇḍapa-rāi* (ruler of Māṇḍū) against the Khīchī chief. In the royal army were the royal princes, Fateh Khān, Chaznī Khān, Haibat Khān and Umar Khān. Of the nobles, the most not-able was Mughīs Khān; and among the Hindus who assisted the Sultān were Rājā Narsinghdās, who though a second Vikramāditya had submitted to Hūshang Shāh, Narsingh's sons, Chāndjī and Khemjī, Lakham-

* A paper accepted for reading at the Silver Jubilee Session of the IHC (Poona, 1963) but not actually read on account of the writer's unavoidable absence.

¹ Other books in an advanced stage of preparation are the *Bhaṭṭi-varṇa-prasasti*, *ḍīngal Gīt*, and *Jaisalmer-aitihāsika-sādhana-saṅgraha*. The *Parvār-varṇa-darpana* has been published recently.

² The location, as given by Naiṇṡī, is 30 *kos* from Būndī, 10 from Koṭā, and 4 from Mhow. He speaks also of the Gāgraun fort being built by Achalḍās. The actual distance from Būndī and Koṭā is 70 miles and 45 miles respectively.

³ See the *Marubhārati*, X, Part 2, pp. 4-5.

rāva of Mātāṅgapurī, the ruler of Būndī, and a chief of the Devarās. Troops from Namiāḍ 87, the two Māndhātās, Āser, Dugor, Silārpur and various other towns also accompanied him. People wonderingly speculated about the person whom the Sultān could attack in a world devoid of Hammīa, Soma, Sātāl and Kānhaḍade, the Guhilot of Tilak Chhaparī and Rāwal of Sīhore; and then getting further information admired Achal who could stand up to this victor of the four quarters.⁴

When the Sultān's army neared the fort of Gāgraun, many people counselled surrender. But Achal would not listen to such craven advice; and he was backed in his resolve by his queens, Pushpāvatī, a daughter of Rāṇā Mokāl, the Tanwarāṇī, the Kachhawāhī, and the Sāṅkhalī⁵. Even the young prince, Chānd, would not hear of leaving his father.

As the news of Achal's resolve spread people began pouring in to see him. First came Pālhaṇa of Bālā. Then followed Achal's uncles, Pāmā, Mahīrāja, and Bhīma and other Rājput̃s. None of the 36 clans remained unrepresented. The Brāhmaṇas were represented by Rishi Sāranga and Guru Nārāyaṇa. Of the traders there were Harapati, Lālā, Baijā and Bālā. Of Bhāṭs the *Vachanikā* mentions Gāngo, of Chāraṇs Mādho, Sādo and Nāpo, and of the Bārhaṭs Lāu and Sēu. In short every caste and community responded to the call to arms.⁶

40,000 women, wives of Rāṇas, Rāwats, and other warriors assembled there to watch the valorous deeds of their relations. Prominent among them were Achal's mother, Saphalāde, Achal's chief queen, Pushpāvatī and Achal's sister, Ūdī (Udayā).

The Sultān surrounded the fort with 84 elephants, 43,000 horses and 12 lakhs of infantry. At every gate he put an elephant with seven archers mounted on it. Behind the elephants were seven lines of seated and seven lines of standing soldiers; and next to them were perhaps some war-machines.⁷

The fight between the two forces lasted for full fifteen days, from the *Mahāṣṭamī* to the other *aṣṭamī* or eighth day of the fortnight. Pālhaṇsī then proposed that everything of value in the fort, conveyances, horses and precious things should either be burnt or buried and then they should die fighting. Similar, though slightly different proposals were made by Āsadeva, Nāthū Ḍoḍ and Ḍūṅgar Bāgarī. Achalesh commended them all.

⁴ pp. 7-9.

⁵ i.e., queens belonging to the Tanwar, Kachhawāhā and Sāṅkhalā clans.

⁶ pp. 17-18.

⁷ “*Kheḍa-udān mud-pharpharī chumha-chaki ṭhāim-ṭhaṭkari*”. The meaning of the passage is not very clear.

Determined not to be outdone by men, the 40,000 women in the fort decided to perform the rite of *jauhar*, and thus follow in the footsteps of the ladies of the houses of Jogā Jogāit, Rolū of Sihore and Hammīr of Raṇthambhor.

The next problem was that of leaving behind someone who would continue the Khichī line and some day avenge the loss of the fort. Various alternatives were considered. There could not be any question of Achala himself leaving the fort. Chānda was too young to break through the array of elephants. Pāmā and Pātal lay badly wounded. Prince Dhīr who had been sent to Rāṇā Mokāl to solicit assistance had not returned and one could not be sure of his fate. Pālhaṁsī had therefore, though much against his will, to leave the fort. He managed to break through the lines of the besiegers by the sheer force and fury of his onset.

Achal now thought of the *jauhar*, saying to himself. "Dūngarsī, Mokāl-sīha, Rāwāl Gaipā, Vir-jī, Hādās, Khichīs, Solankīs, Sūryavarmāsīs and also others of the 36 Rājput families would be hearing of our *jauhar* and speak highly of it." And in actuality it deserved the expected renown for it exceeded even the *jauhar* of Hammīra of Raṇthambhor in its fearful grandeur.

With this part of his duty done, Achal and his friends marched out against the enemy, with swords in their hands and the rosaries of *tulasī* round their necks. The Ghori ruler took Gāgraun only after the death of Bhoja's son, Achaldās. And here the account of the *Vachanikā* ends, with the final statement that Achal made two things *achala* (permanent), his own name in this world and (the residence of) his own soul in heaven.

The story thus given by the *Vachanikā* has every mark of authenticity. It gives the correct names of Hūshang Shāh's sons, a thing rare with bards, and mentions his chief noble, Mughīs Khān, whose son, Mahmūd I, is known to us as the founder of the Khaljī dynasty of Mālwa. His chief Hindū feudatory, Narsingh, is known from Muslim sources as a ruler of Kherlā. He submitted to Hūshang Shāh in 1432 A.D. after years of fighting. The names of Narsingh's sons perhaps are known for the first time from the *Vachanikā*. Another Hindu feudatory, Lakhānrāva of Mātangapurī might have been an aboriginal chief. Devīsingh is difficult to identify, and the chiefs of Būndī and the Devarās have been left unnamed. But even this incomplete description is useful in establishing the truth of the assertion of Muslim historians that the chiefs of Hādōtī had once been paying tribute to the rulers of Mālwa. It explains also why Mahārāṇā Kumbhā began his career with attacks on the Devarās and the Hādās. To be *Hindū-Suratrāna* he had by force or diplomacy to free these Hindu territories from subservience to the Muslims.⁸

⁸ The text descriptive of him is gone.

The contemporary rulers mentioned in the *Vachanikā* is likely to belaud Achal's *jauhar* can also be identified. Ḍūngarsī was the Tomar ruler of Gwāliar. As his father, Viramadeva, was alive at least up to the 5th day of the bright half of Aṣāḍha, V. 1479 (1422 A.D.), Ḍūngarsī might not long have been on the throne at the time of the fight. Or it might be that he was then merely a *yuvarāja* and Vīr-jī mentioned in the same verse which speaks of Ḍūngarsī was his father Viramadeva.^{8c} Most probably they were near relations of Achal's Tanwar queen. Mokalsīha was Achal's father-in-law and Rāṇā of Mewār. Rāwal Gaipā is known to have been on the throne of Ḍūngarpur in V. 1480 (1423 A.D.).⁹

Of the rulers who are mentioned as having performed *jauhar* before Achal, Hammīr was the famous Chauhān ruler of Ranthambhor.¹⁰ Rolā was a Guhila ruler of Sīhore.¹¹ Jagā Jogāit might be identical with the Guhilot of Tilak Chhapari¹² mentioned in an earlier section as a doughty warrior along with Soma, Sātal and Kānhaḍade who are known to us as heroes of the Sonigarā branch of the Chauhāns.¹³

Specially interesting is the light that the *Vachanikā* throws on the nature of *jauhar*. Originating from a well-understandable desire of preserving the honour of Hindu women, it had, in course of time, become a part of what might be termed a "Scorched Earth Policy". Everything of any value was destroyed; and if it could not be destroyed it was buried underground or sub-merged in some deep lake or reservoir. This policy was carried out at Gāgraun. At Ranthambhore valuable things were thrown in Padmasar.¹⁴ At Jālor, Kānhaḍade's horses escaped being slaughtered as the Vyās had them gifted to himself.¹⁵

We know from the *Vachanikā* as well as the *Hammira-mahākāvya* and the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* that every community participated in the *jauhar*. And

^{8a} See in this connection our paper on Mahārāṇā Kumbhā in the "Mahārāṇā Kumbhā Special Number" of the *Rājasthān-Bhārati*.

^{8b} *Praśasti-saṅgraha*, Jaipur, p. 173.

^{8c} That Viram and Vira are interchangeable words can be seen from the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*.

⁹ See the *Rājasthān-Bhārati*, I, Parts 2-3, pp. 59-60.

¹⁰ For a detailed account of Hammīr see our *Early Chauhān Dynasties*.

¹¹ For Gohils of Sīhore see *Naiṇsi's Khyāt*, II, p. 459.

¹² See the *Vachanikā*, p. 8.

¹³ See our *Early Chauhān Dynasties*.

¹⁴ *Hammiramahākāvya*, XIII. 192-3, 194.

¹⁵ *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*, IV. 22-224.

before the *jauhar* too all women had in some ways a share in the defence of the fort. Achal's Kachhawāhī queen offered to shield her husband's body with her own as he stood near the battlements; and though fighting was primarily men's job, ladies went about watching their valorous deeds and encouraging them. If man, says Shīvdās, was Śiva, woman was Śakti; and of these two it was always Śakti who triumphed when it came to any spirited encounter.¹⁶

Regarding the date of the fight, the internal evidence of the *Vachanikā* helps us only to conclude that V. 1490 (A.D. 1433) could be the last date possible, as it was in that year that all the contemporaries of Achala mentioned in the *Vachanikā*, excepting perhaps Vir-jī, might have been alive. If Vir-jī should, as suggested above, be identified with Dūngarsī's father, Viramadeva, this terminal date can be pushed back to V. 1480 (1423 A.D.); and that this happens to be the actual date can be inferred from Muslim sources, according to which Mahmud Khalji captured Gāgraun, after having given his troops some rest subsequent to the retirement of Ahmad Shāh to Gujarāt in March, 1423 A.D. As we further learn from the *Vachanikā* that the siege continued for one fortnight, from the *Mahāṣṭamī* (of *Āśvina*) to the next *aṣṭamī* we can say that it began two days before the *Dasaharā* of the year and ended a week before the *Dīpavali* festival.

¹⁶ *Vachanikā*, p. 31.

METALLOGRAPHIC STUDIES IN CHALCOLITHIC OBJECTS

By

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The knowledge of early metallurgy is attributed to Chalcolithic Cultures all over the world. In India, stratified remains of these cultures are excavated at a number of sites and are dated in the Deccan, Central and Western India, to 1800 B. C. to 1200 B. C. These cultures occupy an important position in Indian Archaeology.

The most distinguishing feature of these cultures is their objects of copper and bronze. An attempt is being made at the Laboratory of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History of the M. S. University of Baroda, to study these objects, so as to reconstruct the probable metallurgical processes employed in the production of these objects and thence infer the technical stage of these cultures. For this purpose, spectroscopic, analytical and metallographic studies are carried out.

Spectroscopic studies in these objects have helped to indicate the provenance of the ores from which these metals were extracted. Analytical studies have revealed the percentage composition of these objects. From these two studies it was possible to draw certain inferences regarding the metallurgy and the production techniques employed for these objects. However, for a more informative study, a metallographic examination of these objects was necessary. Metallographic examinations, among other things, will reveal whether an object was cast or wrought, what heat treatment it had been given in antiquity, whether it is porous or brittle and what metallic and non-metallic inclusion it possesses. There will be defined on the metallographic surface, such structural characteristics of the metal as grain size, the size, shape and distribution of secondary phases, segregations and other heterogeneous conditions. All these characteristics profoundly influence the physical properties of the metal.

The metallographic study was carried out at the Metallurgy Division Laboratory of the Atomic Energy Establishment of the Government of India, at Bombay. At this laboratory six representative cutting implements from five different Chalcolithic sites—Chāndoli, Somnath, Nāvḍāṭoli, Āhār and Lānghṇaj, were studied.

Specimen No. 1, an axe from Chāndoli (Māhārāṣṭra). Composition: Cu, 95.11%; Fe, 1.81%; Pb, 1.68%; Zn, 0.62%. External features: It is non-magnetic, Porous and full of casting fins and free from forging fins. The surface of the axe is rough and corrugated. It looks as though it was cast in a

crude sand mould. It is corroded on the surface. When cut, the specimen showed characteristic copper colour.

The sample for metallographic study was selected from the butt end of the axe, as its cutting edge could be expected to be cold worked while the axe was in use. The sample was polished and examined at a magnification of X 12. As is indicated by photo macrograph, (Fig. 1), the internal surface of the metal was free from cracks, but it was full of gas holes. There were two kinds of inclusions, one gray and globular and the other angular and pinkish. A majority of the gray inclusion did not turn red under polarised light, but quite a few of them did. That shows these inclusions are due to the presence of lead and also cuprous oxide. In copper, lead does not form a solid solution, instead, finds itself distributed in the form of globules. In polished condition itself, grain boundaries were also revealed at the edges of specimen. This is due to corrosion of the surface of the metal. This corrosion was observed to move inwards in an intergranular manner.

The sample was etched in ammonia and hydrogen peroxide for 45 seconds and was observed at a magnification of X240. As shown by photomicrograph, (Fig. 2), the microstructure of the metal consisted of localised twinning around the porosity holes and as shown by photomicrograph, (Fig. 3), it also consisted of equiaxial grains in other parts. The grains were not distorted; neither were there sliplines. There was no indication of coring.

From these observations, it is possible to infer that, the metal is porous, probably due to unsound casting technique that was employed in the production of this axe. The absence of coring and the presence of equiaxial grains indicate that the metal is homogeneous and was very slowly cooled after casting. Slow cooling was probably brought about by covering the mould in hot ash. The twinning that is observed near the porosity holes is probably due to the pressure applied by the gases trapped within the porosity holes. The superficial appearance of the object indicates that, the metal is in as cast condition; that is, it was not subjected to hot work or cold work. Twinning otherwise takes place when the metal is hot worked, or cold worked and annealed. The technique of venting the mould to allow for the free escape of the evolved gases is the secret of successful casting in copper. Evidently, this technique was unknown at Chāndolī, when this axe was cast. *Interalia*, probably, this Poor Casting Process was also responsible for the formation of cuprous oxide within the metal. Cuprous oxide renders the metal brittle.

Specimen No. 2, An Axe from Somnāth (Gujarāt). Composition: Cu, 81.86%; Sn, 12.82%; Fe, 2.57%; Pb, 1.21%. External features: The axe is free from casting fins and possesses a smooth surface finish. It is non-magnetic and is very slightly corroded on the surface. When cut it showed characteristic bronze colour.

Though the cutting edge of the axe was expected to be cold worked while it was in use, from this axe, the cutting edge itself was selected for metallographic study, so as to ascertain how actually the splaying of the cutting edge was brought about; whether it was a feature of the casting mould or forged after casting.

The sample was polished and observed at a magnification of X675. As is indicated by photomicrograph, (Fig. 4), the internal surface of the metal was free from porosity and cracks. It consisted of two kinds of inclusions, gray and globular and pink and angular. These inclusions were observed to be uniformly distributed throughout the specimen. The gray inclusions were due to lead; they did not turn red under polarised light.

The sample was etched in acid ferric chloride solution and was observed at a magnification of X120. Since this etching medium had a film forming effect on this specimen, the specimen was polished afresh and etched anew in chromic acid and was observed at a magnification of X 120 over the body of the specimen and again separately over the cutting edge of the specimen.

As shown by photomicrograph, (Fig. 5), the examination of the microstructure of the body indicated equiaxial grains with twinning. The inclusions in this region were found to be out lining ghost grain boundaries which were not angular. The equiaxial grains formed subsequently did not conform to the ghost grain boundary pattern. The grains observed in this region were considerably larger than those found at the edge of the specimen, (photomicrograph, Fig. 6), that is, there was considerable grain growth at the body of the specimen than at the edge. Such large grain growth takes place when the metal is heated beyond recrystallisation temperature, above 500°C, after casting.

The presence of inclusions on the ghost grain boundary pattern indicates that the cold work on this region of the metal was not heavy. Inclusions are observed on the grain boundaries in cast metals in as cast condition. That apart, in as cast condition, the grain boundaries are non-angular. Severe hot work or cold work after casting, distributes the inclusions at random. It is therefore clear that in this region, the non-angular ghost grain boundaries represent the grain boundaries of the metal in as cast condition and the metal was not subjected to heavy hot work or cold work.

The examination of the microstructure of the cutting edge of the specimen, as shown by photomicrograph, (Fig. 6), indicated, distribution of the inclusions at random, formation of small equiaxial grains and twinning of the grains. There was also evidence of slip and cross slip lines in this region.

From these observations it is possible to deduce that, the cutting edge of the axe was shaped by repeated cold work with intermittent annealing. The

body of the axe was not worked as heavily, but was subjected to heat, which has given rise to considerable amount of grain growth in that region.

The presence of slip and cross slip lines at the edge, may be attributed to cold work that the edge had undergone while being shaped. In that case, the object was not finally annealed. Leaving the specimen in cold worked condition imparts it hardness, a necessary quality in a cutting tool. Nevertheless, it is possible to attribute these slip lines to the cold work that the finished object was subjected to, while it was in use.

Specimen No. 3, an axe from Nāvḍāṭolī, (Madhya Pradesh). Composition: Cu, 93.17%; Sn, 3.26%; Fe, 0.63%; Pb 2.28%; Zn, 0.21%. External features: The axe has a smooth surface finish, free from casting fins. It is non-magnetic and slightly corroded on the surface.

The sample for metallographic study was selected from the butt end of the axe. It was polished and observed at a magnification of X 675. As is indicated by photomicrograph, (Fig. 7), the internal surface of the metal was observed to be sound, free from porosity and cracks. It consisted of the gray and pink inclusions. The gray inclusion did not turn red when observed under polarised light.

The sample was etched in Ammonia and hydrogen peroxide for 75 seconds and was observed at a magnification of X 675. As is shown by photomicrograph, (Fig. 8), the microstructure of the metal showed equiaxial grains and twinning of the grains. The inclusions were found to be distributed at random.

From these observations it is possible to show that, this metal consists of a recrystallised structure. The metal was heated above the recrystallisation temperature, above 500°C, after casting and was subjected to cold work, and annealing to bring it to its present form. The evidence of cold work is borne out by the twinning of the grains. Absence of strain lines in the microstructure indicate the final annealing of the specimen.

Specimen No. 4, a small chisel from Nāvḍāṭolī, (Madhya Pradesh). Composition: Cu, 93.20%; Sn, 3.12%; Zn, 0.38%; Pb, 2.06%; Fe, 0.57%. External features: It is a small rectangular rod like object with a splayed cutting edge at one end. Its surface is free from casting fins. It is slightly corroded in parts.

The sample for metallographic study was cut from the butt end of the specimen. It was polished and observed at a magnification of X 240. As is shown by photomicrograph, (Fig. 9), the polished internal surface of the metal indicated that the metal was sound, free from porosity and cracks. There were grain boundaries at the edges of the sample due to superficial corrosion. Corrosion was observed to be moving into the body of the metal in an intergranular manner. There were no secondary phases, but there however, were the

two inclusions, gray and pink. The gray inclusions were found to be due to lead.

The sample was etched in Ammonia and hydrogen peroxide for 90 seconds. The etched surface was observed at a magnification of X 450. As is shown by photomicrograph, (Fig. 10), the surface indicated, small grains with twinning of the grains. The inclusions were observed to be distributed at random.

From these observations it is possible to infer that, this metal has a homogeneous structure, which was cold worked and then recrystallised.

Specimen No. 5, an axe from Āhār, (Rājasthān). Composition: Cu, 90.92%; Fe, 6.48%; Pb, 1.62%; Ni, 0.31%. External features: The axe is magnetic and has a rough uneven surface. Casting fins on the surface are apparent. It was probably cast in a sand mould. The surface of the metal was corroded. On cutting, the colour of the metal was observed to be grayish red.

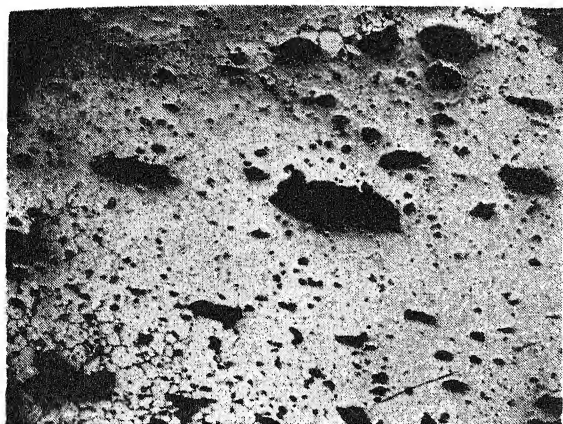
The sample for metallographic study was selected from the butt end of the specimen. As the composition of this metal is uncommon, the sample from this specimen was studied in transverse and longitudinal sections. The sample was first polished to reveal the longitudinal section. It was observed at a magnification of X12. As is indicated by photomicrograph, (Fig. 11,) the internal surface of the metal showed dendritic segregation, porosity holes and cracks. There were also the globular gray inclusion some of which turned red under polarised light. As noted above these inclusions are due to lead and cuprous oxide.

In polished condition itself there were grain boundaries at the edges of the sample. This is due to corrosion of the surface of the axe. In this specimen also, corrosion was observed to be moving inwards in an intergranular manner.

The polished surface was etched in Ammonia and hydrogen peroxide for 75 seconds and was observed at a magnification of X240. As is shown by photomicrograph, (Fig. 12), the internal microstructure of the metal showed dendritic as well as cellular structure and coring. There were also large bright globular particles distributed all over the surface and fine globular forms concentrated on grain boundaries.

The transverse section of the specimen was polished and observed at a magnification of X12. As is shown by photo-micrograph, (Fig. 13), the polished internal surface of the metal indicated, segregation of black dendrites, gray globules and clusters of pits.

The surface was etched in ammonia and hydrogen peroxide for 75 seconds and was observed at a magnification of X120 and X675. As is indicated by photomicrographs, (Figs. 14 and 15), the internal microstructure of the metal



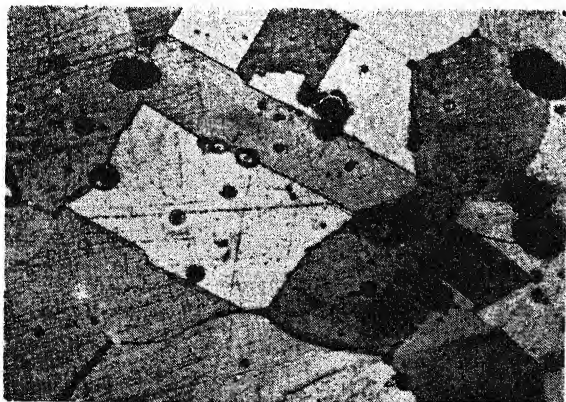
Photomicrograph of axe from Chāndoli, X12, unetched. Porosity and grain boundaries at the edges are revealed.

Fig. 1

The above specimen, X240, etched. Twinning of the grains near porosity holes is indicated.



Fig. 2



The above specimen, X240, etched. Formation of equiaxed grains around Porosity holes is also disclosed.

Fig. 3

Photomicrograph of the axe
from Somnath, X 675, unetched.
Compactness and inclusions
of the metal are indicated.

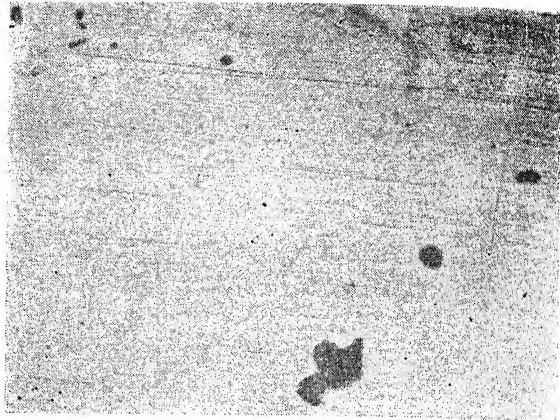
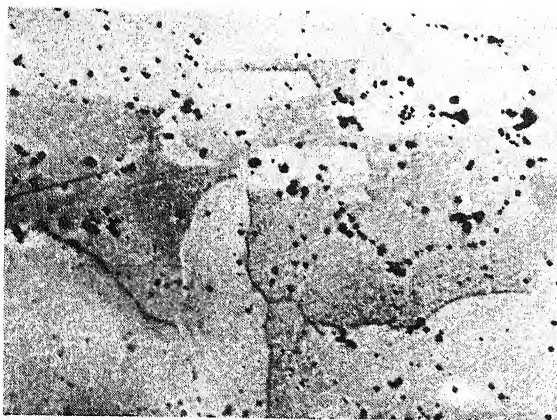


Fig. 4



The above specimen, X120,
etched. Ghost grain bound-
aries, equiaxial grains and
twinning of the grains
are displayed.

Fig. 5

The above specimen, X120,
etched. Microstructure of the
cutting edge of the axe. Strain-
ed structure with sliplines
is shown.

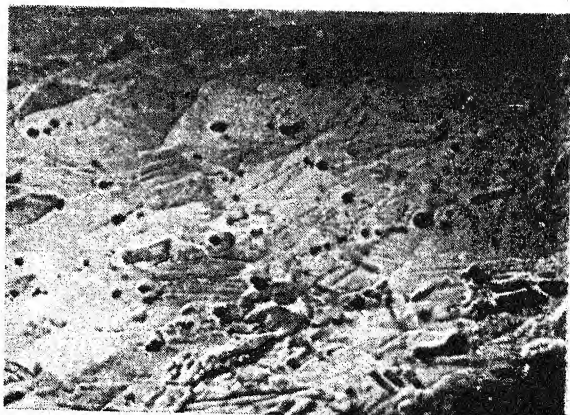
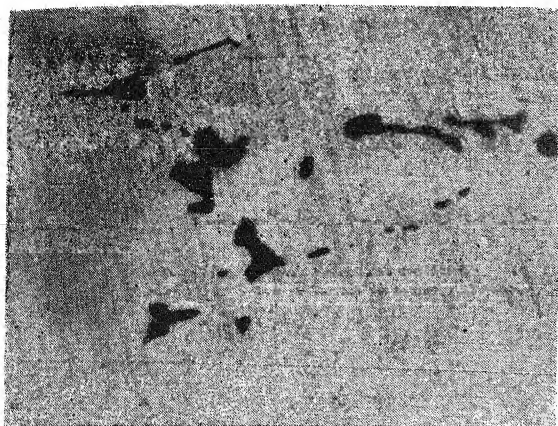


Fig. 6



Photomicrograph of the axe from Navdatoli, X675, unetched. Compactness and inclusions of the metal are revealed.

Fig. 7

The above specimen, X675, etched. Formation of equiaxial grains and twinning of the grains is shown.

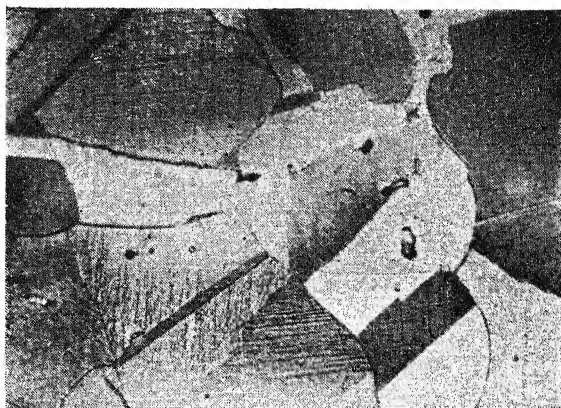
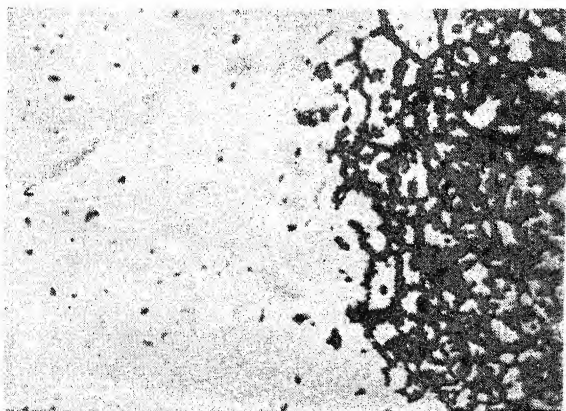


Fig. 8



Photomicrograph of the Chisel from Navdatoli, X240, unetched. Inclusions and grain boundaries at the edges are disclosed.

Fig. 9

The above specimen, X450, etched. Microstructure consisting of fine grains and twinning of the grains is shown.

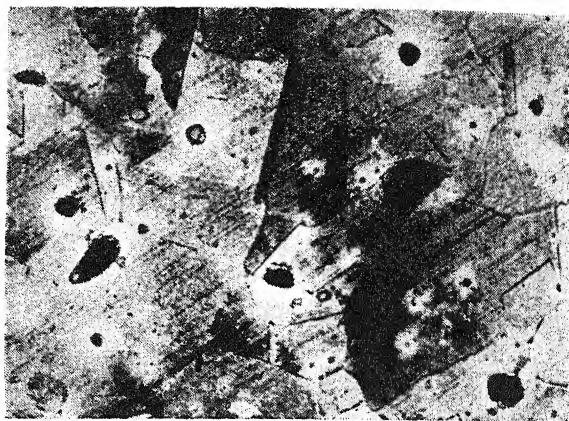
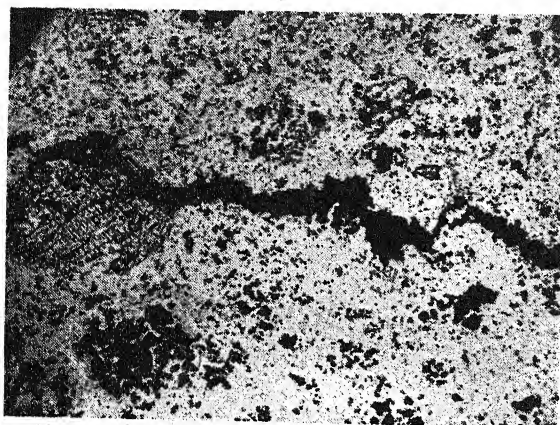


Fig. 10



Photomacrograph of the axe from Ahar, X12, unetched, longitudinal section of the specimen. Cracks, gas-holes, dendritic forms and inclusions are displayed.

Fig. 11

The above specimen, X240, etched. Presence of cellular structure, dendrites, coring and large bright globular particles distributed and fine globular particles concentrated on the grain boundaries is revealed.

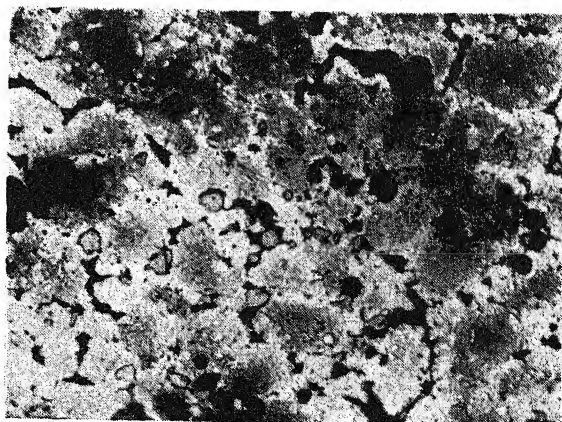
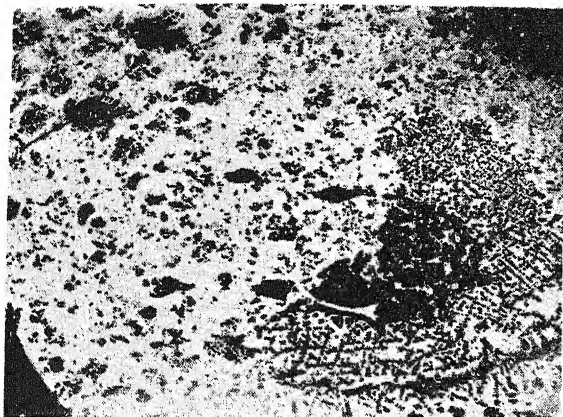
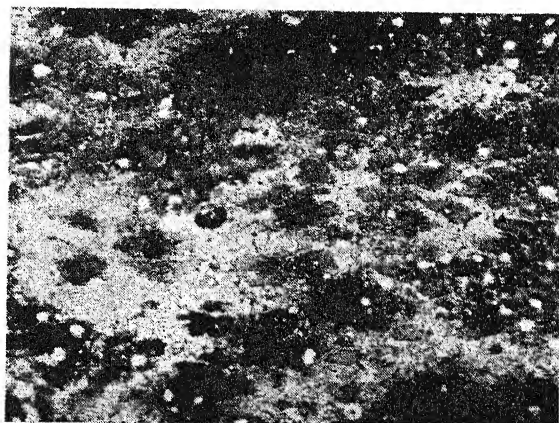


Fig. 12



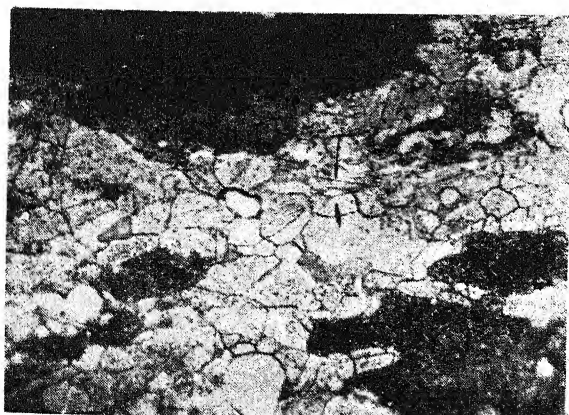
The above specimen in transverse section, X12, unetched. Porosity, dendrites and inclusions are shown.

Fig. 13



The above surface, X120, etched. A fine grained structure is revealed.

Fig. 14



The above microstructure at X675. Twinning of the grains along with fine grains is revealed.

Fig. 15

Photomicrograph of the knife
from Langhaj, X675 unetched.
Compactness, inclusions and
drawing out of the inclusion in
the direction of the work, due
to hot work are disclosed.

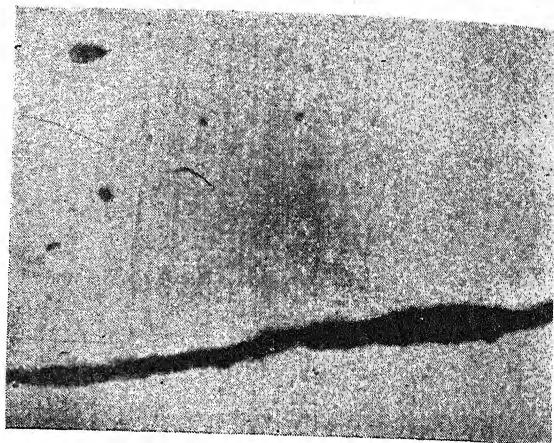


Fig. 16



The above specimen, X450,
etched. Fine grains, twinning
of the grains and sliplines
are shown.

Fig. 17

in transverse section, consisted of cellular structure with dark grains, surrounded by a lighter material. The gray globules were observed to be distributed.

The microstructure of the two sections of the metal are not entirely similar. From the metallographic study it could be said that, this is a porous, brittle, heterogeneous metal. Presence of our six percent of iron and various other impurities and the crude casting process have rendered this metal rather unique. From the microstructure it is difficult to visualise the actual thermal treatment that the axe had undergone in antiquity.

Specimen No. 6, a knife from Lānghañaj (Gujarāt). Composition : Cu, 98.12%, Fe, 0.61%, Pb 0.28%. External features: It is a 29.8 cm. long thin knife with a sharp cutting edge on one side, along its length. It is non-magnetic and slightly corroded on the surface. The surface does not show casting or forging fins.

The sample for metallographic study was selected from the blunt edge of the knife in the longitudinal section of the specimen. It was polished and observed at a magnification of X675. As is shown by photomicrograph, (Fig. 16), the internal surface of the metal was observed to be free from cracks and porosity holes. The metal appeared to be compact and homogeneous. There were the two inclusions gray and pink, uniformly distributed in the metal. The gray inclusions were mostly due to lead; only a few of them turned red under polarised light, indicating the presence of a small quantity of cuprous oxide in the metal.

The sample was etched in acid ferric chloride solution for 20 seconds and was dipped in ammonia solution to remove the superficial cupric chloride formed on the surface, washed under running water, dried and then observed at a magnification of X450. As is shown by photomicrograph (Fig. 17), the microstructure of the metal indicated very fine equiaxial grains with strain lines.

From these observations it is possible to indicate that, this metal is in recrystallised condition. The hot work that the specimen had undergone is indicated by the drawing out of the insoluble inclusions in the direction of working. The hot working temperature was sufficiently high above 500°C; some of the inclusions were dissolved at this stage and subsequently, as the metal cooled, got themselves precipitated on the grain boundaries. The hardness of the metal was determined to be 140 Vicker's Pyramid Numerals. This high hardness and the presence of strain lines in the microstructure of the metal indicate that, it is in cold worked condition.

Acknowledgements :

Author's grateful thanks are due to Professor H. D. Sankalia, Joint Director, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, for referring the representative

Chalcolithic metal objects from the excavations at Ahar, Langhnaj, Navdatoli and Chandoli, for studies in Chalcolithic metallurgy; to Dr. R. N. Mehta, Head, Department of Archaeology & Ancient History, M. S. University of Baroda, for his constant encouragement; to the authorities of the M. S. University of Baroda, for deputing to the Metallurgy Division Laboratory of the Atomic Energy Establishment; to Dr. K. Tangri, Head, Metallurgy Division Laboratory, A. E. E., for graciously permitting to carry out these studies in his laboratory; to Mrs. L. S. Thomas, Scientific Officer, A. E. E., for her very valuable criticism; to Mr. M. Driver, Scientific Assistant, A. E. E. for helping in the preparation of microphotographs and Professor N. S. Pandya, Head, Department of Physics, for kindly going through this work.

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NALINI S. SAMARTH, Baroda

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Balasubrahmanyam, M. D. : The Accen̄tuation of Arya-in Pāṇini and the Veda

REVIEWS

Sivāditya's Saptapadārthī with a Commentary by JINAVARDHANA SURI : ed. by Dr. J. S. JETLY in Lalbhai Dalpathbhai Series. Ahmedabad 1—pp. 15+8+97. Price Rs. 4/—.

L. D. B. Sanskriti Vidyāmandira highly deserves appreciation for publishing as the first number in its Series, *Saptapadārthī* with Jinavardhanī commentary hitherto unpublished.

The present book is an excellent work based on Vaiśeṣika Sūtras and the commentary by its style and simplicity greatly helps the beginners for making the study of the text easier and interesting. The commentary is written in a lucid style and it looks that no much thought is given to the strict technicalities. In one place the Commentator explains thus :

सू. (२) प्रमितिः प्रमा तस्याः विषया ग्राह्याः ग्रहणयोग्याः । In the place of विषय ग्राह्य is not generally used.

सू. (१७२) संसर्गस्य सम्बन्धस्याभाव is a new interpretation, Generally संसर्गाभाव is the name of three Abhāvas :

Prāgabhāva, Pradhvarṇsābhāva and Atyantābhāva or संसर्गावच्छिन्न प्रतियोगिताकाभाव i.e. the above three Abhāvas.

P. 4, Sūtra 1, While the Commentator begins to establish प्रमितिविषयत्वं in प्रमिति he states next : प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणमनुमानस्य विषयः, यथा प्रत्यक्षप्रतीतिः करणसाध्या क्रियात्वाद् etc.

Here I feel that there is some textual error in the readings. We require to establish अनुमानविषयत्वं in प्रत्यक्षप्रमिति not in प्रत्यक्षप्रमाण, प्रत्यक्षप्रमितिः may be the reading in place of प्रत्यक्षप्रतीतिः also.

P. 77 Sutra 257 and 258 : दुःखसाधनं and सुखसाधनं do not seem to be the Commentator's reading of the text because Commentary reads : असाधारणं कारणं तस्य ज्ञानमवगमः । So the foot-note reading may be maintained.

P. 78. Sūtra 262. स्वर्गः (foot-note reading) seems to be the original reading. See Sūtrā 75, p. 35. (सुखं तु सांसारिकं स्वर्गश्च). The printing mistakes are negligible. The get up is excellent and beautiful. Dr. Jetly is to be congratulated on bringing out such an excellent edition of Jinavardhanī with the text. There are very few Scholars now who can very efficiently edit abstruse texts of Nyāya Śāstra.

I hope that L. D. B. S. Vidyāmandira will further enrich the Series with such excellent works as this in the nearest future.

M. R. NAMBIYAR

Drama in Rural India: By J. C. MATHUR, I. C. S. Published by Indian Council of Cultural Relations, New Delhi, 1964, Price Rs. 17/-.

With all our present-day enthusiasm regarding reforming and developing Indian Theatre, one has to admit that very little work has been recorded by way of research and exploratory work, particularly in the field of Drama. A few books have been published, very recently, regarding Sanskrit Drama; but there is very little output concerning the Theatre History of the last fifty years. J. C. Mathur's *Drama in Rural India* published by Indian Council for Cultural Relations is a welcome document, properly planned, cleverly written, full of information and studied observations.

India is mostly a rural country and to collect information concerning all the provinces in the field of Folk Theatre is not an easy job. The rural drama in many parts of the land is hardly a regular theatre, in the sense that shows are hardly put up according to Calendar, at certain selected places. Mostly it is the fairs and the festivals which govern the running of the shows. At places, the folks taking part in the performances are not always a professional group in the strict sense of the term. Again, these performances take place at spots which are not easily negotiable by normal and routine transports. There are remote places where perhaps a good entertainment is promised, but the board and lodge would be a problem particularly for an outsider.

To witness some of these performances throughout India and to correlate and shape them in a comprehensive pattern is a task which could be accomplished only by a worker who could spare plenty of time to go round the country and collect data. The author has given us a complete picture of the rural drama with many interesting details and has assigned comparative values. So varied and complex a subject is not treated in the accountant's way, but the entire matter is treated in form of a drama, first mentioning the Centres, then following up with the actors, shows, themes and the various types of accompaniment, not forgetting the treatment of the most important and highly intricate subject, that of the Aesthetic pleasure, otherwise understood as Rasa.

There are certain original references, always useful to the students of dramaturgy. The inscription of 1045 A.D. referring to the construction of NĀṬAKAŚĀLĀ in the village temple of Mugud, near Dharwar, the performance in Himachal Pradesh before the local deity Naṭarāja, the Teen-Khan-Ka-Khel wherein all the three storeys of a building is utilized during the performance near Sinhpuri; various interpretations of Nepathya at different places, the history of the several centuries old rural christian drama of Kerala, of Bhavāi, of Yakṣagān, of Bhāvanā, of Nautanki and such folk-forms, analysis of the traditional Vidūṣaka or the jester with his food habits and poetical insight—all these and many interesting observations would provide a refreshing and inspiring study to any student of this subject.

The style of the book demands our attention. Here is a scholar writing in a simple way, the most difficult end to achieve. We have very few works of the subject of Indian Drama, particularly on the subject matter concerning the last fifty years and this one is a precious addition. As the author says, this publication is meant to serve the foreign audience; but where books are rare on rural drama, this is bound to serve the Indian audience as well. We have been talking a great deal about Bhavāi; but a regular account in a book form has yet to appear.

Some of the members of the old Civil Service did creditable research in literature, linguistics, archaeology, anthropology and social studies. We are glad that Mr. J. C. Mathur has revived the tradition which perhaps should be an eye-opener to our younger members of the Indian Administrative services. It is a fashion, nowadays, to talk of being overworked and to complain about getting no time. It is heartening to find a book like this of great research value, useful in many ways. This can be the result of only the labour of love and therefore deserves all credit.

We wish the demand for publishing the Second Edition materializes soon, so that it can have a better and a more representative set of photographs.

C. C. MEHTA

Mānasollāsa—Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi of King Someśvara (1128-1129 A.D.), Vol. III, pp. 310. Edited by G. K. SHRIGONDEKAR, M.A. No. 138 in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series Baroda, Published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 18/-.

This third volume of the *Mānasollāsa* was long awaited and its publication is to be much welcomed. The editor Shrigondekar, who piloted the first volume has maintained the same standard and is to be felicitated for bestowing patient labour during his old age, on an academic work of such nature. He had to constitute the text on the basis of two manuscripts only, one is in the Bhandarkar Institute Collection at Poona and the other in the Palace Library at Bikaner. His suggested emendations, in the face of scribal errors, which are numerous, are quite intelligent and help in restoring a correct text.

As to the merits of the work, one cannot sufficiently overenthusiase, for it acquaints with an aspect of ancient Indian life, for which we have no systematic account anywhere else in Sanskrit Literature. It is a work which should be read by every Indologist, for it mostly deals with games and amusements with pastimes during mediaeval times as handed down from antiquity and some of them prevalent even today. The present volume of over three hundred pages, containing 2869 verses, gives us five remaining chapters of *Vinodaviṃśati* and

twenty chapters of *Kṛīḍāvīmśati*. Their range and variety may be evident from the following list :—

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 16. Gītavinoda | 8. Jyotsnākṛīḍā |
| 17. Vādyavinoda | 9. Sasyakṛīḍā |
| 18. Nṛtyavinoda | 10. Madirāpānakṛīḍā |
| 19. Kathāvinoda | 11. Prahelikākṛīḍā |
| 20. Camatkāravinoda | 12. Caturaṅgakṛīḍā |
| <i>Kṛīḍāvīmśati</i> | |
| 1. Bhūḍharakṛīḍā | 13. Pāśakakṛīḍā |
| 2. Vanakṛīḍā | 14. Varāṭikākṛīḍā |
| 3. Āndolanakṛīḍā | 15. Phaṇīḍākṛīḍā |
| 4. Secanakṛīḍā | 16. Phaṇjikākṛīḍā |
| 5. Toyakṛīḍā | 17. Timirakṛīḍā |
| 6. Śādvalakṛīḍā | 18. Vīrakṛīḍā |
| 7. Vālukākṛīḍā | 19. Premakṛīḍā |
| | 20. Ratikṛīḍā |

Under Gītavinoda it is stated that the king should himself have knowledge of Deśi songs (Deśimārgavicārajñāḥ, Mān. 4.16.5) by which is implied the music in the different tunes as listed by Maṭaṅga in his Bṛhaddeśiya like Vibhāsa and Śrīrāga, etc. It should be noted that the ancient-most Sāmaveda music was organised by Nārada and this Nāradiya system was replaced by the Deśi system or Deśyarāgas of Maṭaṅga. This fact is clearly stated in the Bṛhatkathāśloka-saṁgraha (XVII. 4 ff.) of Buddhasvāmī and is important for the history of Indian music.

The king used to maintain a court of learned persons, proficient in many arts, with whom he organised his literary meetings. This had been the practice from the time of the Ṛgveda and throughout the ages from the principal forum for cultivating art and literature. It is said here that the *Sabhyas* were expected to know different languages (Sarvabhāṣā-viśāradāḥ, Mān. 4.16.6). The meetings of the *Sabhyas* were convened in the hall of public audience (Āsthānamukha-maṇḍapa, Mān. 4.16.8), to which a representative number of citizens court-grandeers and learned men were invited.

It was the duty of the king to train the princes also in these arts and to provide for them a prominent place in such conferences (Mān. 4.16.12). It was expected of good musicians to improvise extempore Deśi songs at the time of singing (*Śighraṁ racayate gītaṁ anusāraṁ ca gāyati*, Mān. 4.16.23).

The following verse of the Mānasollāsa is cast in the same mould as a verse in the Viṣṇudharmottara :—

इच्छन्ति सममाचार्या व्यक्तं वाञ्छन्ति पण्डिताः ।

काङ्क्षन्ति मधुरं कान्ता विवृण्वन्ति नराः ॥

[मान० १।४।१६]

रेखां प्रशंसन्त्याचार्या वर्तनं च विचक्षणाः ।

स्त्रियो भूषणमिच्छन्ति वर्णाद्व्यमितरेजनाः ॥

—विष्णुधर्मोत्तर ।

The one speaks about the appreciation of a good printing and the other of good music by the same four classes of architects. It is recommended that the king himself should sing :—

ध्वनिः शारीरवान् राजा प्रगल्भो रसिको भृशम् ॥

गायेत्स्वयं वा प्रीत्यर्थं प्रेयसीजनतुष्टये ॥

[मान० ४ । १६ । ११५]

and this represents the highest state of art culture patronized by the western Cālukya kings.

A number of Rāgiṇīs of Deśya variety are recorded here *Suddha śāḍava*, *Suddha Pañcama*, *Suddha Sādhārīta*, *Suddha kaiśika*, *Hindola*, *Takka*, *Nartarāga* (*Naṭa* of later time), *Gāndhāra*, etc.

An actual reference to Mataṅga is given in the text for citing definitions of Vṛttas. Under the caption of Vṛttas a number of Sanskrit and Prakrit metres like Dodhaka, Dvipadī, Tripadī, Catuspadī, Vastu, Carcarī are recorded, which give us a picture of the transitional period leading to the state of Prākṛta Pañgalam. Reference is made to Ṣaṭpadī songs in Karṇāṭā-bhāṣā, which is a clear mention of Karnāṭaka music, patronized at these western courts which eventually founds its way to north India also. The illustration of Jayamallikā song recalls a similar effort by Jayadeva in Gīta-Govinda at a slightly later date. A song named Śukasārikā was composed in Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa bhāṣā in the form of Praśnottara (Mān. 4.16.330-331) such dialectical material is copious in this volume and deserves to be studied separately.

A notable fact brought to light by this volume is the composition of a large number of Nārāyaṇagīta of the same inspiration and Padāvalī as found in the Gīta-govinda. Probably there was an older tradition of such Nārāyaṇagīta songs, which began in Gupta age for singing in the Vaiṣṇava temples of the Pāñcarātra Bhāgavata. An example from the Mānasollāsa of the Elavatīlekḥā metre (the poet's offering of a cardomum named Ratīlekḥā to the king) is worth citing :—

पद्मनयन जलशयन ।

लक्ष्मीस्तनाभोगमध्यस्थितमुक्ताहार ।

भक्तशरण प्रतिबुधार्तिहरण

सकलदैत्यवंशच्छेदकुठार ।

अधहरण भवतारण मे

लक्ष्मीकान्त जय जय देव नारायण नमोस्तुते ।

आ (?) सोमेश्वरविरचितेऽयमेलावतीलेखा ॥ १ । १२० ।

There are also a few other metres like Elānādāvati, Elābhadrāvati, Elāmadanavati, etc.

निजविभवविरचितदशावतारम्
निशितशरशतक्षतदनुजभारम् ।
प्र(ध्रु)पूतनास(सू)दनम् ।
केशिकदनं दामोदरं ।
खगपतिगमनमभयदम्
करसरसिजकलितरुचिरगतम् ।
प्र(?) वृन्दावनमधुमथनकरम् ।
नारायणम् ॥ १४५ [Mān. 7 p. 56]

Indeed the whole Gīta-govinda lies embedded in this work of Someśvara. We also find such compound phrases as Rādhāvallabha and Gopavadhū :—

स्मरभरविवशराधाहृदयवल्लभ..... ॥ ४ । १६ । ३०
...गोपवधूमुखपद्ममधुकर..... ११०६ [p. 51]

which shows that there was a wave of Rādhā-cult which spread from Karnāṭaka to Bengal.

After citing the names and examples of many kinds of Prabandhas the author writes :—

अन्येषां च प्रबन्धानां भाषायां नियमो न हि ।
मया संस्कृतया वाचा बोधायोदाहृतिः कृता ॥

—मान० ४ । १६ । ५५८

The chapters on vocal and instrumental music, dance and story-telling (*Kathāvinoda*) are full of interesting material. The last one being unique and throwing light on an institution which has now disappeared.

The fifth Viṃśati of twenty chapters deals with twenty kinds of games and amusements as indicated above. This is a chapter, which has a special value for throwing light on several pastimes in which the people found pleasure on special occasions. They formed part of the older Udyāna-kṛīḍā and Salīla-kṛīḍā and as one reads through these chapters one is face to the face of a number of new motifs and terms. The Bhūdhara-kṛīḍā is the same as the pastime of Kṛīḍā-parvatas :—

तत्र चित्रद्रुमोपेतं वनं कुर्यात्समन्ततः ।
तन्मध्ये रुचिरं रम्यं क्रीडाहेतोर्मनोहरम् ॥
कारयेत्पर्वतं राजा तुङ्गशृङ्गविराजितम् ।
नानावृक्षसमाकीर्णं सुविशालशिलातलम् ॥

—मान० ५ । १ । २३ ।

The Vanakrīḍā gives a graphic account of the royal garden containing about fifty trees, plants and creepers and mentions the ancient motif of Puṣpa-pracāyikā (or flower gathering sports) as an item of Krīḍā :—

नमयंस्तद्दशाखाश्च गृहंश्चित्तगतं फलम् ।

सुरभीणि च पुष्पाणि विचिन्वन् पल्लवानि च ॥

—मान० ५ । २ । १५३

Here Āndolana-krīḍā stands for the Hindola or swing in royal and public gardens, a popular amusement until recent times. The Secanakrīḍā is mentioned by Kālidāsa as a part of the Salila-krīḍā (water-sports). The Śādvalakrīḍā and the Vālukākṛīḍā are new names of sports in the rainy and autumnal seasons. A new kind of game, called Jyotsnākṛīḍā or Koṣṭhakakṛīḍā is described, which is unknown from any other sources and which is said to have been invented by Kṛṣṇa for the delectation of the Gopīs and was played by striking the players with flower-balls and flower-garlands. In the Hemanta season when the weather is extremely cold, a kind of game called Sasya-krīḍā, was played by going out into the country-side and collecting specimens of half-ripe grains and making them fried on the fire into Holikā or Holā corresponding to the Abhyūṣakhaṇḍikā-krīḍā of olden times. The Madhupāna-krīḍā corresponds to the ancient Āpāna-gosṭhī which is described in classical literature as an item indicated in the Vanodakakṛīḍā. The Prabelikākṛīḍā is also mentioned by Bāṇa and Jināsena as a practice in vogue in royal courts.

It will thus appear that the contents of this work, which the editor rightly calls encyclopaedic, are of interest for students of mediaeval culture and the text is to be held from more points than one.

V. S. AGRAWALA

A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of The Sanskrit College, Calcutta, Vol. I, Part I by BIRAJMOHAN, Tarka-Vedāntatīrtha and JAGADISH CHANDRA, Tarkatīrtha, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1963. Price: Rs. 7-50 np. Pages: 2 + 144 + 4.

The collection of mss. in the library of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta is very rich both qualitatively and quantitatively. A Descriptive Catalogue of the mss. deposited in the library was prepared by Hrishikesh Shastri and Sivachandra Guṇ in the last decade of the 19th century.

Since the publication of the Descriptive Catalogue many more mss. received from various sources were added to the library. Consequently a thorough revision of the old Descriptive Catalogue became a necessity. The work was undertaken and the Old Catalogue has been revised to meet the specific needs of modern research scholars.

In the revised catalogue, Sanskrit Vivaraṇa—a summary of the contents of the mss. with an English version of the same has been added for the use of both Oriental & Western scholars. Moreover, in the Vivaraṇa, the compilers have discussed all relevant points regarding the mss. such as their authors, date etc. after a careful study of the mss. It will, indeed, be useful to scholars.

The present catalogue contains descriptions of 175 mss. pertaining to Nyāya-śāstra, most of which are in Bengali script. The arrangement of the mss. does not, however, appear to have been based on any principle. The mss. are neither arranged alphabetically, nor according to their serial numbers, nor according to their authors taken in the alphabetical order. Under the circumstances it becomes very difficult to have a clear idea about the number of mss. of a particular work and the number of commentaries available on it, from such a disordered catalogue. Index of works and Index of authors given at the end serves that purpose to some extent. In the Index, the published works could have been marked to differentiate them from the unpublished works in the collection. The utility of the catalogue would have been enhanced thereby.

P. H. JOSHI

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* LANGUAGE OF THE PĀIKAKHEDĀ

By

SIDDHESHWAR HOTA, CUTTACK, (Orissa)

General Introduction :—Pāikakhedā of Kahnāi Chāmpati Roy of Goṛḍa-kaṇṇa Village in the district of Puri (ORISSA) is a valuable war-treatise of the Martial Utkal of the Pre-17th. Century A.D. with striking linguistic materials, the study of which is being presented for the first time to reveal some genuine characteristics of the Pre-17th Century Oriya.

Historical Evidences :—The texts of the Pāikakhedā have presented the chronological narration of the poet, his residence, and date, colophons of each chapter at the end including the body of the 1st. and the 12th. chapter of this book. Some of them are narrated hereunder to form an idea of the discussed book; and its author Kahnāi Chāmpati Roy.

“....Gaṛḥa kokalarē pitānāma śiripati
Ghaṛḍaghaṛḍi sama bira nāma tā cāmpati. 4

.. .. .
Baṛḍapūta Balukiyē koṇkatē rahilē,
Santoṣa karāi mote reṅgaḷē peṣile yē. 11.
Śaradhārē mātā mora nāma thilā dei,
Sakala pāikamēḷē nāma mo kahnāi.

Hakāri mu pāikagaṇaku kahibaī,
Kṣamariba samaragaṇa caṇḍikā bhāvai yē. iti.

Colophon :—Rēṅgaḷagaṛḥa Kahnāipāikabara Cāmpatirāy curḍāmaṇi kṛta
pāikakhedā pahili adhyā lekhnaku o jaṇāna..PĀIKAKHEDĀ,
P 3.”

* Discussed at the 26th. Session of International Congress of Orientalists,
1964 at New Delhi (India).

The above narration describes the relevant facts that Śrī Śrīpati Cāmpati of Gaṛha Kokal had two sons, namely Bāluki Cāmpati, the eldest son and resident of Koṅkala; and the youngest Śrī Kahnāi Cāmpati, reputed later on for his heroic deeds as Pāikabara Kahnāi Cāmpati Roy Cuṛḍāmaṇi of Reṅgaḷa. He composed Pāikakhedā which was ended on Thursday, the 10th Tithi of bright-half of the 4th Aṅka of Vīra Narasiṃha Deva, who administered his subjects as a Friend. This idea comprises the following narration:—

“Yāhā pitāpitāhiṇi śuṇili, Jāhākuḷa sāhāsra dekhili
Yāhā mo aṅga-libhā bhiāṇa, Tahāgitarē rañcili jāṇa.
Bīra Narasiṃhadēva rājā, Mitrapaṇarē pālai prajā
Tāra śubha cārianka jāṇa, kanya śukaḷa daśami puṇa.
Gurubāra dibā bhāga kāḷē; Khedā saṃpūrṇa hoilā ṭhujē. Ch. XII, P. 83.
Pāikakhedā.”

Further details recorded are: “Śrī śubhamastu. iti. Rēṅgaḷagaṛḍa pāikabara kahnāicāmpatirāya cuṛḍāmaṇi sātagharanāyaka koṭhakaraṇa ghuiākaraṇa, paricchā Sāṇḍhabandhā. pāṭasēvaka yorḍamasāla ghosarā pāuccha siddhibhiāṇa siddhibhogi śrīkaraṇa sāmanta gharuarat kṛta pāikakhedā naḷi varṇanā 12 adhyāya puṇa khedā saṃpūrṇa....

IBID, P. 84.”

From the above it is learnt that Kahnāi Cāmpati Roy, the inhabitant of the Reṅgaḷa Gaṛha, and the author of the Pāikakhedā, was born in a Sāmanta Śrīkaraṇa family, the lineage of which is the chief of the seven types of karaṇa families as called Koṭhakaraṇa, Ghuiākaraṇa, Paricchākaraṇa with traditions of a faithful servant for tying up the cloth on the head, the Pāuchakaraṇa with two torches, the Sidhikaraṇa, the agent; the Sidhikaraṇa for oblations, Śrīkaraṇa; and the Sāmantakaraṇa.

Date of the author of Pāikakhedā:—The date of Śrī Kahnāi Cāmpati Roy on internal and external evidences of his book “Pāikakhedā”, and the military achievements of the then Utkal, is to be fixed up as the first half of the 17th Century A.D. The Pāikakhedā was composed after the crushing defeat of Kalyāṇa Malla, the Utkal Subedar, who attacked on the 6th July, 1611 A.D. as mentioned in “Akabaranāmā, Aīnākhbari, Vahar-I-shan-in-Ghaebi” etc.; and the King Narasiṃha Deva, son of Puruṣottama Deva, was the reigning king of this period; and the 3rd year of his reign was the red-letter year in the History of the martial Utkal; which produced such brilliant composition; full of historical and military achievements, richly picturesque with the scientific weapons, and war amunitions prevalent upto the 1st-half of the 17th Century A.D., and remarkably significant with linguistic colours fairly a rare work of New Indo-Aryan Languages of this period.

The Subject-matter of Pāikakhedā, and its General Interest: Śrī Kahnāi Cāmpati Roy Cūḍāmaṇi has vividly described the art of war science in twelve

chapters or Adhyāyas beginning with the decissive attack of Kalyāṇamalla, as narrated below :—

“Kailāṇamalla bīra uturu ailā, Kharabālē rājamuṇḍa kātibi boilā

... ..
 Caṛḍhi sārāghoḍḍā nei mantri gaṛḍare, Chaṭakē miḷilā jāi nṛupaticchāmūrē;
 Jaḷigalā nṛupamukhu śuṇi sēhi bāṇi, Jhaṭati nṛupasahita galā bīramāṇi
 ye.5.

Tāṅkārē mālilā *tāṅka kailāṇajhuṇi* *Ṭhavaghasaruṭhāru* galā bira Kailāni,
 Dare thili pitāmukha dēkhilā parāṇa, *Ḍhakā bāitā barḍutā* vijaya *ghētina*
 ye.6

Na āsilā nṛmaṇira kanakasundari, *Aṇaneuṭā* hoilā *sisanāgakari*.
 Emāna hṛdaya mora *gahane phāṛḍilā*, Puṇa kaṭā *khābarār* cuna jē lēpilā
 ye. 7.

... .. Pāikakhedā pahili adhyā, P2.”

The references as quoted above, describes that Kalyāṇamalla came from the north, and told to cut off the head of the king by his sharpened sword. With that object he, immediately met the king at Mantri fort on horseback. He was enkindled with the words of the king, and pierced arrows through his bow. The author, out of fear saw his father's face ; but the enemy resounded his victory throughout. But the beautiful lady of the king did not return at all like the best “Nāga” snake. On such pathetic sight my heart was heavy with the ideas as if the severe wound was mixed with the lime.

The author in his khedā has described chapter by chapter with respective titles on the subjects in the colophon in each chapter as written at the end as described as follows in “Adhyā” or “Paṭola”, (ii) Yuddhabhēḍa (P 18) i.e. different kinds of war, (iii) Yujhaniyama, i.e. specific rules of war, (iv) Yuddhabhiṇa, i.e. beginnings and proper applications of war, (v) Sucibandharacana, i.e. proper workings of labyrinth, and the necessary array of soldiers, (vi) Dasarābidhāna, i.e. observance of Dussera on martial, and sacerdotal customs, (vii) Potayuddhagūṇa (48) i.e. naval-war, and its merit, (viii) Gāruḍigrahaṇa (P 64), i.e. the influence of incantation on war, (ix) Pāikarapaṇa (P 65), the chivalry of the Pāikas or the soldiers, (x) Durgabhiṇa (71) i.e. systems of constructing forts, (xi) Kāṇḍakodaṇḍa, (P 77) i.e. Arrows and bows, and (xii) Naḷibhiṇa (P 81) i.e. making of guns etc.

Thus the work under discussion is unique for the war-sciences and its proper applications to extirpate the enemies from our motherland-Utkal. Not only the invasion of Aśoka during the reign of the emperor Khāravēḷa was known to the world but also the chronological evolution of war-science from the period of Aśoka to that of Boxi Jagabandhu, the last Pāik-Hero of Orissa of The king Telenga Mukunda Deva has faithfully served as the object of con-

tinuity for unending inspiration to others. Consequently the martial Utkal became main theme of description in the reputed authentic Muggal works like "Vāṭṭalā Kaiṇiyat"; Sanskrit treatises like "Hariharacaturaṅga", "Jayacintā-maṇi" of Paṇḍita Godāvara; Prakṛt kāvyas like Samaratarāṅga of Brajanāth Baḍajēna, and others in succession of the Pāikakhedā.

Language of Pāikakhedā :—Language of Pāikakhedā is the main theme of our discussion and at the outset it may be remarked that this work is fairly representative of the 14th. to the 17th Century of Orissa, and Oriya Language. The special features of this treatise like those of Śrī Kṛṣṇakīrtana of Badu Das in Bengali, Candobaradāi of Rāsa in Hindi, Bihāri Sattasai of Bihāri etc. are very much remarkable from the aspects of (i) Phonology, (ii) Morphology, and (iii) Syntax as evidenced from the texts of this book with to certain extent of the historical development of Oriya Language to the 17th Century A. D.

A. Phonology :—The phonemes are broadly divided into two sections, i.e. (i) Vowels, and (ii) Consonants. These are exactly similar of the later 16th Century Oriya Phonemes. Thus the detaiphonemes are not necessary in this connection.

(i) *The Vowels* :—The words are always ended with a vowel sound in Oriya, which is very much unlikely from the other languages of the Eastern group of NIA. Some of the vowels, and their gradual colours of development as exhibited in the discussed book are as,

a—a : (Initially). Sanmukha OIA. "Front" > O. Chāmu "your honour."

a—u (medially). Cakravāka. OIA. 'a kind of bird' > O. Cakua : Cakrakārika. OIA. > Cakuli. "a kind of cake of round size."

a—i *Nandaka : raka, a kind of vessel in oval size, > O. Nandīā, "A kind of war-vessel."

i—u Bhumi + kha : mida. OIA. > Bhuī + kha : unda. 'temporary house on the earth.'

u—ō. OIA. Bhumija. > O. Bhōi. "A name of the cultivator's tribe." (Initially).

(Medially). OIA Samudra. "Ocean" > O. Samōdra. (STS.)

āi—e (Initially) OIA. Sāinyamukhyaka. > O. Sēnāmukha. "Chief of the army."

OIA Tāiḷa. "Oil" > O. Tela.

—a-i. OIA. Sainya. "Army" > O. Sa + ina. OIA. Āisanya. > O. A + isana. "Name of a direction." etc.

Final Vowels :—(a) Oriya and some N.I.A. languages like Gujrātī, Punjabi, Singhalese etc. have exception to this rule, that "While initially and in the interior of a word, Vowels as a rule retained the final vowels of Pāli and

the Prākṛt Languages are entirely lost in all the Modern Vernaculars.”¹ and the following vocables may be undoubtedly accepted as a novelty.

OIA. Agni, fire. > Pkt. Aggi. > M.A : g, H.A : g, Guj. A : g ; but in O. Agi.

OIA. Agra. ahead. > Pkt. Agga. > o. Aga or A : ga. “First”.

OIA. Aṣṭaḥ., Eight. > PKT. Aṭṭha. > O.A : ṭha, H. B. Assamese. A : ṭh. P.L.A : ṭh.

OIA. Paṭṭaḥ. “Cloth.” > Pkt. Pāṭṭa, “Fine cloth of cotton or silk.” > O. Pāṭa, Silk. H. Pa : ṭ. S. Paṭu. G. Paṭo “Bondage”, Sgh. Paṭa. “Silk” etc.

(b) The Tbh. words in Oriya have final vowels lengthening, and becomes accented ; and thus the original OIA word has the initial vowel as accented and lengthened. Thus these words serve as models of accent-shifting from initial vowel of OIA to the final vowel of Tbh. form of the same word in Oriya. as.

OIA. Stha : naka. “Place” > O. Ṭhaṇa :.

OIA. Angyā : ta. “Unknown”. > O. Ajaṇa :. (73)

OIA. Hasta, “Hand” > O. Hāta. (37) etc.

(c) The initial and final vowels of OIA. vocables are being lengthened in its respective TBH. forms in Oriya ; and the initial consonantal conjuncts are reduced to simple consonant. as in

OIA. Sphuṭaka. “Blister.” > O. Phoṭaka :. “Blister.”

OIA. Tṛṭaka. “Disjoined.” > O. Tuṭa :. etc.

and the case with the medial consonantal conjuncts are being similarly observed in Oriya tbh. words. as given below,

OIA. Padraka. “Waste-land” > O. Pandara :. “Barren land.”

OIA. Arḍhaka, “Half” > O. Adha :.

OIA. *La : ṇjaka, “A thing with a tail” > O. La : ṇjua : (50) “A kind of war-vessel”.

The “r” phoneme is represented by the vowels, “a”, “i”, “u”, “e” “ō”, “ar”, “a : t” etc. as illustrated in the following examples:

r—a, as in OIA. Gr̥ha + Vādaka, “the drummer in the house” > Gharua :. “chief drummer.”

r—a : OIA. Mr̥ + ṭaka, dead body. > Maṛḍa : (elongated “a”) ; OIA. Mr̥ + tavya, act of killing > Mariba :, “Killing” (Future).

r—i, OIA. Tṛtiya dvāra, ‘third door’ > O. Tiniduāra (P 72), three doors
OIA. Hr̥daya, heart. > O. Hia : “heart” (P 36).

r—u, OIA. R̥ndhita, closed up. > Rundha :, used in “Ekarundha : nali” well-pressed on one side (p 68), Nāirta. OIA. > O. Nairuta, name of the northern direction. (p 17).

¹ Mr. R. V. Jahagirdar—The comparative study of Indo-Aryan Languages,—P 113.

ṛ—e, OIA. Vṛntaka, stem. > O. Vēṇṭa, sword (p 8); OIA. Grh+śatr. act of taking up or accepting. > O. Ghetīṇa. getting (P 2).

ṛ—ō, and o: as in OIA. Kṛnta. > O. Konta, "a kind of weapon" (p 36) OIA. Sṛṣṭhika. or Sṛṣṭhaka. Constructor. > O. So: tha. Constructed side. (P 67).

ṛ—ar, OIA. Brta+illa. act of inviting. > Barila. "invited" (Past tense). O.

ṛ—a: r, Kṛ+tavya, "to be worked" > O. Ka: rya. "act of doing" (Future tense.) etc.

ṛ—ru, or rō, as in Rgnaka, diseased. (Adj). OIA. > O. Ruga, or Rōga: "diseased" (p 61) "diseased". etc.

ṛ—ur, uru, ir, iri. OAI. Vṛdha. old. > O. Vurudhd. (P.7), Nṛpa. OIA. > Nurupa, O. king. Nirupa. O. and O. Niripa. (Such examples are comparatively less in number than that of the former).

Thus the sound "ṛ" is recorded orthographically in Ts words like "Ṛsi, the sage"; "Gṛta, ghee" etc. on the age-old pattern of OIA (Sanskrit of the Primitive Era); but is being uttered as "Ṛsi > O. Risi; or Rusi, sage"; OIA. Nṛpa. king. > Niripa or Nirpa (dialectal) or Nurupa, or Nirupa or Nurupa 'King' as evidence from the Pāikakhedā. From this it is clear the phonemes of "ṛ" is on the transitional stage in Ts and Sts. vocables with phonemes of various categories such as "ri, ir, iri, iru, uru, ru, ur, and such others" of which the primary phonemes of "Ṛ" under discussion are "ri. > ru; ir > ur; iri > uru ru and aru (newly created)" worth-mentioned in Oriya sound systems of the Early and Late Middle Periods. The divergent phonemes of "Ṛ" shows clearly the changing colour of Oriya in its process of evolution with special reference to the phonology. But the Oriya has ṛ > u element, which has crept from the South-Eastern Apabhramśa through the North-West-West, and the North-West-South Inscriptions of Aśoka from the 2nd Century B.C. The evolution of r > u from the 2nd Century B.C.¹ to the 12th Century A.D. indicates the remarkable feature on its movement that side by side the development of r > i; such type had another change as r > u,² which began mostly at first in nouns expressive of human relationship from the Aśokan Inscriptions in the North-West and South in the 3rd Century B.C. Among the NIA except Oriya, Gujarati has r > u element from its formative period of the 16th Century A.D.³ and might have similar situations with Oriya by that time. The exactly similar sound of l > li or lu like that of ṛ > ri or ru was developed in the Early and Early Middle Oriya along with

¹ Dr. M. Mehendele:—Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakṛts—Page, 270.

² Dr. G. V. Tagre:—Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa, P. 40-41.

³ Dr. T. N. Dave:—A study of Gujarati Literature (6th Cent. A.D.)—page 14.

Maithili, Bengali, Awadhī, Bhojapuri, etc. from the early period of NIA through Apabhramśa, Avahatṭa etc.; but the Pāikakhedā exhibits some peculiar phonemes as $r > u$ or ru ; and $l > lu$ or u as deviations from the character of the other Eastern Group of NIA Languages; and consequently the relevant period for this change with particular reference to Oriya may be traced out from the pre-16th Century A.D. onward.

Thus “ r ” and “ l ” are in transitional stages showing the divergent variations of $r > ri$, $l > li$, in some vocables; and $r > ru$ or u ; and $l > lu$ or u in some; but the Early and Middle periods specially the Early Middle period of Oriya have “ r ” and “ lr ” (as pronounced) as “ ri ”, and “ li ” elements; which are similar with other languages of the Eastern group *i.e.* Bengali, Assamese etc.⁴ But the tentative use of “ lr ” as “ lu ” and “ li ” is not being felt by both the native and foreign speakers of Oriya.

Anaptyxis:—is being evidenced in the list of following vocables, each of which has a vowel of either initial or medial or final position, as being reduplicated exactly becomes an anaptycic vowel introduced either before or after the originally same vowel of the word, as illustrated below, *e.g.*

VOWEL:—Initially:—

‘ a ’ ... OIA. Arjuna, the name of the 3rd. Pāṇḍava $>$ Arajuna. O.
OIA. Arḍha, half. $>$ O. Aradha. OIA. Barṇibi. $>$ O. Baraṇibi’
describe (future tense)

‘ a ’ $>$ ‘ a ’—OIA. Jātra:, Fair. $>$ O. Jātara:. (P 10)
—OIA. Bāṣpa, Vapour. $>$ Baṣapa. O. (P 53).

‘ i ’ —OIA. Śilpi., Artist. $>$ O. Śilipi. (P 56)

‘ i ’ $>$ ‘ i ’ or ‘ a ’ (optionally). OIA. Bighna, obstacles, $>$ O. Bighana or Bighina. (46).

‘ u ’ —OIA. Durgā, ‘A name of the goddess Durgā’ $>$ Durugā (P 11)
OIA. Purbāsādhā, name of a star. $>$ O. Purubāṣaḍa.

‘ u ’ $>$ ‘ u or a ’ (Optionally)—OIA. Śukla, bright. $>$ O. Śukaḷa or Śukuḷa
OIA. Sūrya, the sun. $>$ Suruja. O. or Suraja. O. (P 12).

Medially:—‘ e ’ $>$ ‘ e ’ or ‘ a ’ Merda; Pucca building, OIA. $>$ Mereda. or Merada:. O.

‘ a ’ —OIA. Nakṣatra, star. $>$ Nachchatra. O. (P 12).

OIA. Ja: grata, Wakefulness. $>$ O. Ja: garata “Careful”. O.
(Semantic change.)

‘ i ’ $>$ i , OIA. Nirbandha, eagerness or betrothal. $>$ O. Nirbandha or Nirabaṇha.

or a . OIA. Supṛiti, affection. $>$ O. Supiriti or Supirati.

⁴ Prof. S. Hota:—Origin and Development of Oriya Language. (MSS).

'u' > 'u' OIA. Caturthi, fourth day. > Caturuthi. O. (P 10)

Finally:—

'a' —OIA. Bighna, difficulties. > O. Bighana.

OIA. Candra, moon. > O. Candara. OIA. Cakra, wheel. > O. Cakara. (33)

'a' > 'a' or 'i'. OIA. Chidra, hole. > O. Chidara or Chidira. (P 37).

OIA. Māpitri, name of a fort. > Maṇi (a) tri. O. (P 2)

OIA. Śrī, beauty. > O. Śiri. (P 1). OIA. Agni, fire. > O. Agani or Agini. (P 15)

i > a OIA. Śakti, power. > O. Śakati.

u > u OIA. Uttara > O. Utara 5th case-Ending. 'ru' = O. Utaru > O. Uturu. (P 1)

Accented Syncopation:—In a number of Vocables of Pāikakhedā as given below, the heavy stress in a syllable being succeeded by a syllable, which loses its accent altogether of a word, causes the ACCENTED SYNCOPATION. This may be a type of vowel contraction. The relevant examples are,

OIA. Idṛśa, like this. > Early Oriya. Ēsana, > O. Esna.

OIA. Lēkhana, stylus. > O. Lēkhna. OIA. Merdā, a kind of pucca-building. > E. O. Meradā > Mardā. OIA. Astra, weapon. > Asara > Asra. O. etc.

Syllabic extension:—A novelty in Oriya of all the NIA languages:—The syllabic Extension is a very commonly growing factor in the 16th-17th Century Oriya; but such type of interesting phenomenon except one solid example, "Vyapāri" > ¹ "Viyāpāri" in the language of K. P. B. in Nepali of 1670 A.D. is rare in other NIA. The relevant examples from the Pāikakhedā are,

OIA. Śāstra, treatise. > O. Saasra > Sāhāstra. (71 P). OIA. Ādya + u. Adya + u > A: dyu > Ādiū, beginning. (P 4). OIA. Āṅgyā, command. > Āngia: (P 5) Vyūha, Labyrinth. OIA. > Vuha > Vihua. OIA. *Khṛpaṭaka, or Kṣhuraṭaka, cowshed. > Khuṛḍa. (52). OIA. Vamśa, bamboo > Va: n ∫ ^ (78) > Va: umśa (66) OIA Saamanta, vassal chief. > Sa: a nta > Sa: a: nta (67) etc.

The element of syllabic extension is caused due to the introduction of "h" as euphonic sound in original OIA words of Noun-formations, which introduces changes both in meanings and category. The examples are, OIA. Gaṇa, many > Gahaṇa, Crowd'. OIA. Sna: na, bathe. > Snāhāna > Saha: na (Mellā) (42); OIA. Śa: ṇa, to edge > O. Śāhāna, Edged knife. OIA. Bala, strength. > O. Bahala. (P 37)–. Thus the language of Pāikakhedā is very much significant from this point of view.

⁵ A note on the Language of Prthvimalla's Kanaka-Patra and of Pratap-malla's Rani Pokhari Inscription from Nepal—Dr. D. Srivastava, p. 120 of Bulletin of the Philological Society, Calcutta, Vol. 2, 1961.

Sound-Patterns as Created Due to Affix or Suffix or Pre-Fix:— This change of either contracted or elongated colour in Vocables of the 16-17th Centuries of Oriya evolved historically from OIA words with pleonastic affixes like O. "a" > OIA. Ghañ, paṇa ika, ika : k, etc. the examples of which are discussed below:

Affix:—Name of the Language:—Word or Words:—Name of NIA.

"Ka" ... (i) OIA. Akṣavāṭaka > O. Ākhaṛḍa : (7). "Gymnassium" OIA. Haridraka > O. Haḍadi. (8). OIA *Kha : Dyaka > Khādi, 'eatable' OIA. Curṇakāraka, > Cunura :. O. Bengali and in such other Languages practically similar with Oriya.

"ika" or (ii) OIA. Koṇika, "of angular point." > O. Kaṇia :.

"-ikā : " or OIA. Carmaṭika : > O. Chaṭūri or Caūri. " (13);

both, OIA. Kartarikā, knife. > Kaṭa : ri. O. (13)

Knife. OIA. Caḷanika : (Ka) > O. Chalaṇa "act of sending."

(iii) OIA. Caturgraha. > O. Caughara (57) A place of meeting four houses Gr̥ha > Ghara > "a". OIA Śakaṭa, bullock cart. > O. Sagaṛḍa. (67). OIA. Sphoṭaka, > O. Phorḍa : "A kind of eruption."

(iv) "*Pana Affixes as qualitative*" : OIA. Padātika, Infantry "> O. Pa : ika, Paika + Paṇa ; Pa : ika + Paṇa = Paikapana. OIA. Sapta + Panaka. "Seven layers">O. Sa : tapaṇa. (32).

*Aspiration of Vowels or Consonants in Contact with Vowles:—*Aspiration of a vowel or a consonant in contact with vowel or vowels either initially or medially situated in a vocable is a type of sound-changes ; which is known as the sound-shifting or shifting of accents from either initial or medial syllable to its succeeding syllable of any one ; and from the final syllable to its preceding syllable. These illustrations of this category would probably serve as phonemic or orthographical extension, which is a novelty in Oriya of all NIA. e.g.

Vowel:—a > u, OIA. Karkaṭika :, cucumber. > O. Ka : kuṛḍi.

a > e, OIA. Kaṭaka, town, fort. > Sts. Kaṭeka (16) in Oriya.

e or u > e. Deśi. Ga : ruḍi or Ga : riḍi, Incantation. > O. Gareḍi.

(Medially). u > o OIA. Samudra, ocean. > O. Samodra. (Sts).

OIA. Saṃpurṇa, finishad., > O. Saṃporṇa etc.

(Initially), u > o, OIA. Kunta, a throwing, and piercing weapon. > O.

Konta (54). Deśi. Huguli, 'act of loosening' > O.

Hogali.

O being accented is retained both initially and medially,

OIA. Nirmohika, casting off./O. Nirmohi. (58)

OIA. Yogapanika, Supplier of things or a servant./O. Yoganika:.

Consonants :—are exposed to two types of phonemic divergences such as (i) Simple consonant, and (ii) consonantal conjuncts in some vocables of Pāikakhedā.

(i) *Simple consonant* :—*Softening of consonants* :—The necessary examples are, ʈ—ɖ, Ka : kuṛḍi. cucumber. < (OIA. Karkatika :). A : kharḍa :,

(Gymnassium.) < OIA. Akṣava : ṭaka. etc.

ɖh—jh, OIA. ḍhapasingha* > O. Jhapatasinha.

b—m, ṣṭhāba > ṭha : ma, whereabouts.

n—ṇ, Ta : naka, full of tune. > ṭa : ṇa. O

t—t, OIA. Kartarikā, cutting machine > O. Kaṭa : ri.

(l—a). No difference between “Y” and “J”, ‘s’, ‘S’, ‘s’; and ‘v’ and ‘m’ is generally observed as in, OIA Niya, own > O. Nija; OIA. Sisya > Siisa or Susa etc.

(l—b). Elision of medial, ‘y’; ‘h’; ‘V’ from a word :—Elision of medial ‘y’; ‘h’ and ‘v’ as illustrated below;

‘h’—OIA. Sahasra, thousand. > O. Sasra.

*OIA. Dosagṛhaka, > Dasahara; > O. Dasara or Dasara: . The Durgāpujā festival day.

‘y’—OIA. Na : yaka, chief. > O. Na : ika or Na : aka etc.

or ‘y’ > ‘i’ OIA. Varuṇāyi, name of a goddess Durgā > O. A : ruṇa : i. OIA. Nyuna, less. > Nuna or nina etc.

Assimilation of Consonants :—Apart from the usual variance in consonantal clusters of OIA to NIA, the language of the Pāikakhedā shows some solid examples wherein the consonantal conjuncts being simplified prove both the (i) Progressive, and (ii) Regressive assimilation, e. g.

(i) *Progressive* :—OIA. Aparyasta, ‘Little returned’ > Apa :llaṭṭa.

MIA. > O. Apa : laṭa, notable changed.

OIA. Catuspa : ṭhaka : rectangular plot of land >

MIA. Caupa : ṭhaa > O. Caupa : ṭha. (73).

OIA. Kāsthika, drum. > Ka : ṭṭhia. MIA. > O. Ka : ṭhia : (41) etc.

(ii) *Regressive* :—OIA. Agni, fire. > Pkt. Aggi. > O. Agi, fire.

OIA. Nakṣatra, star. > Pkt. Nacchattra, (used in Pāikakhedā) > O. Nachatra. (This form also used)

OIA. Suvarṇika, gold. > Pkt. Suvannia. > O. Sunia:

Use of “Ḷ” and “L” :—Like Marāṭhi, Oriya of the 16th cent. period observes the due differentiation between “Ḷ” and “ḷ”, which are evolved respectively from “a medial double dental ḷ”, and “an original medial single dental Ḷ”. Such element is remarkable in Pāikakhedā; e. g.

Example, for (l), PKT. ll > O. l.

*OIA. Khallak, > Pkt. Khallaa, a kind of stone-pot used for medicinal preparation. > O. Khala (Pro); *OIA. Kokallaka > Pkt. Kokallaa > O. Kokala (Pr); *OIA. PALLIKA. > Pkt. Pallia, of village. > O. Pa: li. *OIA. Bhallitaka. > Pkt. Bhallia. > O. Bha: li (P₃), a kind of weapon; OIA. Taila, Oil. > Pkt. Tella. > O. Tela, oil. OIA. Tulya, similarity, resemblance. > Pkt. Tulla > O. Tula, equality. etc.

(b) Pkt. "l" > O. "l̥" examples are.

OIA. Kāla, time. > Pkt. Ka: la > O. Ka: ḷa, Beng. Ka: l.

OIA. Phala, fruit. > Pkt. Phala. > O. Phaḷa.

OIA. Baḷaya, bracelet. > Pkt. Baala > O. Bala:.

But like the above illustrations, the following examples do not clearly express the difference between "l", and "l̥" with regard to their origin, and in this aspect Oriya language serves for ever as a meeting ground of New Indo-Aryan and Non-Indo-Aryan cultures and languages; wherein the former group does not observe the difference in origin between "l", and "l̥"; but the latter introduces practical difference in their respective course of movement from the period of origin to the development. The language of Pāikakhedā, from this point of view is much more significant, and keeps continuous current from the earliest Oriya Inscriptions of the 11th Century A.D. so far discovered. Consequently the examples as analysed here under are,

Initially, OIA. Likhita + illa (* 1st Person) > Lehili. "I wrote" .O. *OIA. Lañjaka, a thing having a long tail. > Lañjua: 'a kind of boat with a tail' (P 50). O. OIA. Lajya:, shame. > O. La: ja. etc. Similar words are evidenced either from Tbh, or Deśi or Foreign sources; where the principles of "Pkt. LL > O. L" and "Pkt. L > O. l̥" do not hold true; but "Pkt. L̥ > O. l" in vocables of their orthographical or phonological representations are not being critically observed. Such words are Pāli, Dha: la (P 15), Kalinga (P 41) < Tam. Kaḷinji, "a kind of paddy" etc. This linguistic pattern would have similarities with the 16th. Century Gujarati; as Dr. Dave remarks with special reference to the use of "l" in initial and medial situations, "both there seems to be a difference in its pronunciations, as some of Old Gujarati. "l" > New Gujarati, "l̥" (When the OG. l; Middle Gujarathi. l̥)"

The initial "l" of OIA. origin is reduced to "n" in Oriya, but such change, sometimes by some linguisticians, has been accounted for as scribal error or dialectal divergence of the educated society. Whatever it may be; but Pāikakhedā clearly proves the existence of "l > n" as a tending phoneme recorded gradually in the literary manuscripts of (palm-leaves) Oriya of the 15th. and the 16th. Century A.D., As for examples,

OIA. Lakṣa, pain, object of aims. > O. Na: kha. OIA. Lagna: pāka, continuous showers of rain. > Naga: ṇa. O. etc.

"OIA.m > O. " Ū " is evidenced finally and medially in the preceding vowel of "m" in the same word, e.g. OIA. Samarpitah. > O. Saāpi, act of offering, giving. OIA. Ca: marika, rope made of hair. > Caūri. O. etc.

Spontaneous Nasalisation:—is a regular feature in the language of Pāikakhedā except in initial position of a word, which is being changed by its quality.

"y, m—o as in "Angila: or A:gila: done at first. < OIA. Agrakarika; Banka: < OIA. Bakraka, curved, etc.

"m—" as in Yahi < OIA. Yatrahi, where; Nua: i, act of bending < OIA. Namapayatti. Muha, face < OIA. Mukha. etc.

"n—with syllabic extension; OIA. Adya, today. > O.A: diu; OIA. Karoti. act of doing. > O. Karai etc.

Spontaneous Palatalisation:—creates phonetically reduplication of "m"; but in Oriya palatal "b" is still being represented in writing, e.g. OIA. Da: modara, name of visnu. > O. Dambadara. OIA. Lamodara, a personal name. > O. Lambodara etc.; and these may be accepted as the feature of double nasalisation in the Early Oriya, but in the subsequent periods of Oriya such phenomenon has been accepted as the "Double Palatalisation."

The element of "n" is sometimes retained as in Ardhmāgadhi; Prākṛt; and Apabhraṃśa; and sometimes it becomes exactly as in Avahaṭṭa "n" in Oriya except the initial position, e.g.

OIA. Bidha: na, arrangement, creation. > O. Bhia: ṇa.

OIA. Vya: kha: na, explanation. > Bakhāṇa. Narration.

OIA. Nama: payati, cause for bending. > Nua: i. (72)

OIA. Nyūna, less. > O. Niuna. (Sts).

OIA. Presa: panaka, act of sending. > Pesa: ṇa. O. (70) etc.

B. Morphology:—The morphology of Pāikakhedā reveals prominently the continuous and natural patriotism, and heroism as the national character of the *Historic Orissa* of the 15th. Century A.D. During the long period of the last three decades, Orissa was engaged in the beginning of the 15th Century A.D. in active wars with her adjoining countries known as Vaṅga (Bengal); Vijayanagara empire (Southern Āndhra), Kulavargā (Berar), and some other countries with the pious ambition of extending her Empire; and later on she consequently faced ferocious attacks of the then Muslims of Vaṅga. Thus on one side the Utkal kings, chieftains, and people desired the expansion of their own territories; and on the other side they did not tolerate the idea of subjugation from others. As a result, the whole of Utkal country was resounded with dread-

ful, and jingling sounds of war weapons; and thus many new words were coined due to close contact with speech-patterns, and social colours of enemies at the end. Thus the whole of Utkal, out of military restlessness, and psychological unpreparedness, and unconsciousness; has acquired borrowings, and inter-borrowings to such extent here and there that her national, and administrative set up, though predominantly is of Uḍra type, became ultimately diversified with foreign expressions. Thus most of Skt. words, and vocables of Sanskritic Origin were replaced by local form, and hybridic formations. On analysis it may be concluded that there are some vocables gradually crept into Oriya with their unmixed or changed attitude; which reveals to a greater extent either antinational or hybrid colour. The diversified linguistic-cum-militaristic materials of the historic Orissa of the Early Era may be critically estimated on morphological background catagorically, such as, (i) Tatsama and Semitatsama, (ii) Tadbhava, (iii) Deśi, (iv) Hybrids, (v) Loans, and (vi) vocables of interesting divergent nativity. The analysis of the above is to be scientifically, and linguistically experimented as far as possible to find out the exact nature of the morphological structure with a special regard to the Pāikakhedā together with the possible fragmentation of vocables both of the original and borrowed character on the following heads:—(i) Lexical, (ii) Formative, (iii) Grammatical, and (iv) Semantic Changes.

(I) *Lexical*:— (i) Tatsama and Semi-Tatsama vocables are enumerated, e.g.

OIA. Nisa: na, banner. > Sts. Nisa: ṇa (70), banner, as adjective as in Nisāna Pāika, a soldier showing the duty of a banner-career.

OIA. Nāipunya > Nepuna. expert, O. (77); OIA. Bhaṇa. OIA. Bhāṇa and "Bhaṇa + lyuṭ. 'ana' = Bhaṇāṇa, talk., narration.

OIA. Āisanya. > Sts. Aisa: ṇa, name of a direction. OIA. Sisya disciple. > Si:sa, devotee. Sts.; and such other words of Tatsama variety, "Suśobhana, very beautiful; Cakra, Ara: ti, enemy etc. may be mentioned.

(ii) *Tadbhava*:— Some words in this list may be analysed as,

OIA. Preṣa: panaka, causing to send. > Peṣa: ṇa. O. Though in form 'adj.' but used as a noun collision, accident etc.

OIA. Śyēnaka. falcon. > O. Śeṇa (adj) as used in, "Sēṇa: bānā (72) denoting as, "a flag with the symbol as a bird."

OIA. Jalabāhapaka, waterman. > O. Jalaba: hia:

OIA. Aparyasta, undisturbed. > O. Apa: laṭa, 'Unreturned'.

OIA. Tikṣṇaka, sharp-edged. > *Tisaṇaka. > Sāṇa > Sa: hā: ṇa, edged. O.

OIA. Pancaviṃśa, twentyfive. > Pancoiṣa. O.

OIA. Caturkhaṇḍika, fourpieces. > Pkt. Caukhaṇḍia. > O. Caukha: ni.

(81). Foursides.

OIA. Kujhaṭika : fog. > O. Kuhurḍia : (77).

OIA. Gha : taṭaka., wound. > O. Gha : urḍa.

OIA. Padrara : jaka, A lord of waste-lands. > Pkt. Paddara : aa > Padara : ya/(Spontaneous Nasalisation) Pandara : ya, field-watcher. (64).

(iii) *Deśi* :—vocables are generally of genuine character, and full-fledged to serve as medium of expression of languages in general but in particular of the Indo-Aryan, and Non-Indo-Aryans ; but Oriya has acquired such linguistic elements gradually from the 13th. Century A.D. onward. As a result, the book *Pāikakhedā* serves as a model to the speech of the people in general of Orissa. The list of *Deśi* words, on analysis, reveals a forceful reaction against the common enemies of the Oriya nation ; and consequently nationalism has created a common language to act as the harbinger of common rights rather than the class-rights.

The relative examples are, “Pharaka : , a kind of instrument’ ; Khurḍua : , Khuṭi, a kind of drum ; Ba : huṭi, a kind of ear-ornament Rudhia : bira, soldiers using a kind of weapon in the war and such other words, like, Ta : rjika, Ṭhava : ghasa, Pa : hula, foot-steps. O < Pa ; hula, OIA. “Foot-steps”, “Oḷama : la”, cadar etc. In this connection the quotation, “Yēbēka pa : ikē gamibē āgē bājiba vādyamāna, Ḍhola Ca : ṅgu ḍhipa : khuṭi ajaghar ka : ṭhiāmāla jhāñjmāna ;

Paike, Ehumānaṅka śabadarē

Damaru ṭamaka vājiṇa uṭhile pād caḷai ati kharē....” and other words like Gharua : Khudua : , a kind of drums ; vessels like “Khaijaga : Khurḍupa, Caturi, Ga : ṇḍia : Coṭamukhi, etc. (Page, 48-49.) ” vocables expressing different parts of a fort as described, namely Kha : ṇḍi, Ka : ṅgula : , and various kinds of arrows as described below,

“Ēbē ba : ṇama : na Kahiba : , Kṣura gopucchatī : ra bhēdadēba : ; Saptamuna : pa : ṇcamuna kaṭa : ri, Adhacandra ha : burḍa : ku bista : ri Bha : limukha : yē puṇa ka : utuṇḍi, Yorḍa : gua : li kaṇṭia : ku unṭi. Pharakaṭa : a : di bi : re racanti, Puṇa gahana ye ba : ḷutada : nti. etc.

Some more words are “Ola : la (15),” So : ra : (28)”; “Jhoba : (14)”; “Dhuṇḍiba : (34)”; “Tapa : lia : (36)”; “Potenḍia : (59)”; “Sēragandhaka”; “Gebana :” etc, in this connection, the appropriate illustrations; and for which a separate paper will be produced later on.

(iv). *Hybrids* :—as a class of vocables bearing the varied influences of different origins on the native fashion of phrases, idioms, and speech-patterns prove the independent and all pervading character of Oriya Language. The words like, “Sustaina”, “Ogāḷaṣaṇḍha”, “Polenṭia :”; “Ka : tula, anxiety” etc. are the relevant examples.

(Vide - Detailed study under, B. FORMATIVE.)

(v) *Loan-words*:—in Oriya may be probably are few during the period under review, and much less comparatively than those of Deśi, Ts, and Tbh. vocables. They are mostly of Non-Indo-Aryan; and Arabic, and Persian elements; which are mainly lexical but not formative. The relating examples are, "tamm (b)u, temporary house"; "Kha: di, food"; "Jhimuka:", "Thenguria:", "Gumuṭa, inner compartment", etc.

(B). *FORMATIVES*:—This section comprises only the words of the foreign, and native character. With some of them the discussion has been comparatively made as far as possible.

(i) *Nominal, and verbal compounds*:—Though strictly the relevant formation of nominal and verbal compounds is not of contaminated nature with foreign elements; the native elements, interlinked so much so with the Tbh Ts. and Sts. elements; that have contamination, directly or indirectly. The appropriate examples are,

(a) *Nominal Compounds*:—(i) Rudḥia: bira. < OIA. Rudhika + Bīrka-Rudhikabiraka. < Rudḥia: bi: ra, 'a warrior of reputation' but "Rudḥia" denotes, 'a kind of weapon'; and thus the proper idea is being expressed only due to the "Deśi source of Rudḥia: a kind of war weapon".

(ii) Kaṭa: kha: bara:, uneven due to wound, is a formative of "Tbh. Kaṭa: < OIA. Kartita Deśi. Khābara:.

(iii) Tambukha: unda, "the lord of temporary houses" is a formation of Deśi. Tambu, tent + Pers Kha: minda = Tambukha: minda. > Tambukha: unda, "Lord of the tents or temporary houses, (Example of Semantic change.).

(iv) Suna: chaṛḍida: ra < -OIA. Suvarna < Tbh. (O). Suna:, gold Chaṛḍida: ra, Fw., "sepoy"; denotes "a soldier incharge of gold" etc.

(b) *Verbal Compounds*:—Such examples are limited to a number of two or three. The examples are, Khaijaga:, a kind of war-vessel for trade purpose, may be probably of the formation, OIA. Kha: ditaḥ + Yukta: pitaḥ = OIA. Kha: ditayukta: pitaḥ. "for food the connection has been made" ultimately leading to the idea, "A vessel used for carrying or trading foods" (An example of semantic change) and it has in due course of its evolution, expressed the meaning, "A war vessel for food purpose."

Tbh. Kahala: "An uḍra with chivalrous activities" < OIA. Kathaytva: Ha: ritaka, "He who with necessary words takes away". Due to such radical elements, formative influence of subsidiary concepts is herewith expressed in this typical linguistic structure.

(c) *Words with formative and enclitic affixes like, -a, -a:, -a:la, -ka, -ua, -ia; etc. are illustrated below*:—

OIA. Ka > O-a; OIA. Ta: naka > Ta: ṇa, strength. (31)

OIA. -ika > O.-a ; " OIA. Potathēṭaka (Contaminated formation) < O. Potēṭia :. the strong vessel, the idea of which is developed from the preliminary meaning, ' the wicked vessel '. (An example of semantic change.)

OIA.—Kāraka > O.- a : ḷa, -āra, etc. Potakārak, the vessel-boy > O. Potua : ḷa, O I A. Curnaka : raka, the person, who prepares lime. O. Cunārā. Other forms are " Cunurā, Cuna : ḷa etc. " OIA. Dhūmraka : raka, maker of smoke, i.e. fire. > O. Dhuma : ḷa. " Full of smoke ".

Deśi. and Fw. -a : l, Maṭha : ḷa, lazy

Enclitic -ka. with substantives, -Yebēka (34), Gandhaka (82) fragrance, etc.

-Ua : , Khudua : , a kind of fort. Ca : ndua : , Da : ḷua : , Ba : ha : ḷia : etc.

OIA. -Ka : rika. > O.-ia : or i ; O. Andha : ria : ' thief ' < OIA. Andhaka : rika, He who does the work in darkness, metaphorically, thief. O. Ba : ha : ḷia : > OIA. Balaka : rika, rich in wealth or physical strength. The ultimate sense is " rich " OIA. Kumbhīraka, like a crocodile. > Pkt. Kumbhīra > O. Kimbhira, by nature wicked. etc.

(C). *Grammatical* :—Like Hindi, Maithili, and other NIA Languages, Oriya reveals the grammatical peculiarities, which are originated mostly from OIA through MIA. In this connection some formative and grammatical examples are illustrated below,

(i) *Case formations* :—The proper use of case-terminations in Dative-Accusative, Ablative, and Nominative is remarkably revealed in Pāikakhedā ; and the examples are,

Dative -Accusative :—O. -ku, in Uruḍhaku, ahead (17) ; Prayogaku. (77) ; Pa : hulaku (77) etc.

Ablative :— hu, —ru ; Karuṇa : ru, (83) ; Pitāhu (83) etc.

Nominative :— -i, u, ui, as in Tui, Keu, Ekai, Muku, etc.

Possessive :— (6th. Case-ending.) : -Bhoimuḷama : naku.

(ii) *Verbal forms Conjugation*

Present :— Singular.

Plural.

3rd. aṭai, yogutha : i

Sebai.

bola : i

Perfect :—3rd. Bola : ucu, Jagicu.

Past Tense :—

3rd. Rañcila : Rahilu, Kha : ilu,

Pheilū, Herile.

Ma : ilu.

Imperative :—

1st. a : mbhe pa : u.

Future (Conditional) :—1st. a : ŋiba, chediba
 2nd. Smariba, Kariba.
 3rd. Ga: iba, hoiba.

hoibe, ga : ibe

Causative :—Dekhāiba.

(iii) Compound Verbs:—The structure of compound verbs in Pāikakhedā reveals at least two categories (a) Compound verbs with auxiliary verbs; (b) Formation of compound verbs with two independent verbs combined together with modified or changed meanings. The examples of first variety are “Hoi-thiba, (77); Cintuthiba, (83)” etc.; and the latter variety comprises examples such as, “Bhāṅgideba, will crush over” (41); “Bhāṅgideba, shall break” (83) “Tuṭijiba, will be finished,” “Rahithiba, has been staying, (81); “Karuthiba, has been doing (41) with stems, $\sqrt{kr} > O. ka > O. Kariba$; $\sqrt{stha} : .OIA. > O. Thiba$; etc.

There are a limited number of reduplications, and onomatopoeics of simple and reduplicated formations in the sense of “intensity”, “continuity”, “each and all” etc.; and some onomatopoeic vocables of jingling, and war-sounds; for which Oriya is comparatively rich than any of the NIA. This element may be broadly divided into simple, and reduplicated nature.

(a) Simple:—Ḍarimari, fearing; Oḷamāḷa, disturbed; and the examples like, “Caḷa: caḷi (30) struggle; Muha; muhi, face to face” etc. may be of iterative compounds, which may be from the aspect of original sense, accepted as Simple.

(b) Reduplicated:—Pharapharia: (31), “Showy”; Tuha: tuha; again and again”; “Thopethope, little by little (53); Cala: cali, struggle” Kuṭa: kuṭi (63), fighting”; Ha: ta: ha: ti (61), destruction or act of killing” etc. These examples are of iterative compounds. Though these forms are of Sanskritism in appearance; some of them are very likely of Non-Indo-Aryan sources like Kuṭa: kuṭi, Caḷa: caḷi (30) etc.

(D) *Semantic Changes*:—Generally semantics is an art of the historical development of the science of meaning; and explains the relative evolutions of a vocable in different stages. Such is to some extent, common; as the following illustrations are evidenced in Pāikakhedā in support of this situation.

Word....	.Origin...	...Original sense..	Changed Sense
				Mid. Oriya,

Badha: ibi (81) < OIA. Vṛdha tavya...cause to grow...	Shall finish.
(1st. Pers. Future)		

Caukha: ni. < OIA. Caturkhaṇḍika.	fourpiece .	all directions
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Ta: napaṇa < OIA. Ta: naka + Panaka...	voice...	... Pride, Strength.
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Ja: grata < OIA. Jagrata.	... wakefulness...	carefully.
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(82)

Chanda < OIA.Chanda....	crooked.	Labyrinth.
Cauka. < OIA. Catuṣka....	rectangular land...		courtyard.
(74)			
Khu:ūṛḍa < OIA.Khrpa-Kataka.	small fort...	...	room
(71)			

In this connection some more examples of interesting nature are worth-mentioned below, e.g. "Soṭhā (67), beautiful", Kaṇi (67) small bamboos; Kuṛḍua:, Gēbaṇa:, Sora:, Jhoba: (28) etc.

Conclusion.—To sum up with remarks that such is the richness of linguistic records that have been found in the Pāikakhedā, full of the martial and historical verses of Oriya Language and literature of the pre-Period of the 17th Century A.D,

Appendix-A

Abbreviations :

K.P.B.	= Kanaka Patra Ki Bhāṣā.
E.O.	= Early Oriya.
O	= Oriya of the 16th Cent. A.D.
OIA	= Old Indo Aryan.
M.I.A.	= Middle Indo Aryan.
NIA	= New Indo Aryan.
PKt.	= Prakṛt.
OG	= Old Gujarati.
MG	= Middle Gujarati.
NG	= New Gujarati.
Ts	= Tatsama.
STs	= Semi Tatsama.
Tam	= Tamil.
Guj.	= Gujarati.
H	= Hindi.
A.	= Assamese.
B.	= Bengali.
S.	= Sindhi.
Sgh.	= Singhalese.
M.	= Marathi.
P.	= Panjabi.
L.	= Lahandi.
Ar.	= Arabic.
Per.	= Persian.
LW.	= Loan Words.
Fw	= Foreign Words.
HW	= Hybrid Words.

A NOTE ON BṚHATSAMHITĀ, LXXV. 2

By

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The second verse of Ch. LXXV (entitled Kāndarpikam)¹—of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-samhitā* runs as follows :

*harmya-prṣṭham udunātha-raśmayah sotpalam madhu madālasā priyā,
vallakī smara-kathā rahah srajo varga eṣa madanasya vāgurā.*

Dr. H. Kern has translated it as follows :

“The flat roof of a mansion, moon-beams, lotus, spring, a sweet girl languid with the effects of wine, a lute, privacy, and garlands: these constitute the ensnaring net of love.”² It does not appear to be a correct rendering. Kern has taken here *madhu* to mean ‘spring’, which, though not improbable, does not appear to be the sense intended by Varāhamihira. Moreover, in the second line, the word *smara-kathā* has been left untranslated. A better rendering is that given by V. Subrahmanya Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Bhat, *viz.* “Cupid’s snare consists of the following group; *viz.* a terrace, the Moon’s rays, lilies, wine, an intoxicated sweet-heart, a lute, amatory talk, privacy and garlands.”³ Messrs. Sastri and Bhat also fail to discern the connection between the words *sotpalam* and *madhu*, and evidently take them to be quite independent of each other. But the use of *saha-samāsa* in the word *sotpalam* by Varāhamihira seems to be deliberate, and the intended meaning is ‘wine with blue lotus’. The discerning eye of the scholiast Bhaṭṭotpala caught the sense when he explained these words by *sotpalam, nilotpala-sahitam, madhu madyam*.⁴ In fact, here we have a reference to an interesting drinking habit which seems to have enjoyed great popularity in ancient India. It was a common practice to flavour the wine with pieces of lotus buds. We come across some references to

¹ According to Sudhakara Dvivedi’s edition with Bhaṭṭotpala’s commentary published as Vol. X of Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series. In the editions of Kern and V. Subrahmanya Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Bhat it is Ch. LXXVI.

² *JRAS*, New Series, Vol. VII, 1875, p. 109. My thanks are due to my esteemed friend Shri V. M. Bedekar, who, on request, kindly supplied me Kern’s translation of the verse.

³ P. 600 of Bangalore edition of text with Engl. translation, 1947.

⁴ Sudhakara Dvivedi’s edition, Part II, p. 937.

^{4a} Curiously enough such an important drinking habit is not mentioned in Dr. Om Prakash’s useful work *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*.

this practice in ancient Sanskrit texts. Thus in the *dhūrta-viṭa-saṁvāda*⁵ of Īśvaradatta a *viṭa* is represented as telling Kṛṣṇilaka, son of a śreṣṭhin, that for a young man whose father is living it is not possible to enjoy even the smell of the goblets shaped like a dancing peacock filled with wine, flavoured with pieces of the buds of blue lotus, exhibiting circular spots caused by mango oil, and wavy on account of the heaving breaths of loving women :

*na ca kila śakyam samupahitotpala-khaṇḍakānām sahakāra-tailodgata-candra-kānām kāmīnīniḥśvāsa-vikṣobhita-taraṅgānām prauṛtta-barhiṇākārāṇām vāruṇi-caṣakāṇām gandhamātram api jñātum.*⁶

In verse 29 of the same work there is a reference to the wine with fresh lotus-buds floating on its surface :

*vikaca-navotpala-tilakā sasambhramotkṣepa-cañcala-taraṅgā,
tasyai deya madirā yā hṛdaya-kuṭumbinī bhavataḥ.*⁷

Another reference to the flavouring of wine with blue lotus buds will be found in the following verse from the *Pādatāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka⁸ :—

*kiṁ nilotpala-patra-cakra-vivarair abhyāśi mām cumbitum
na tvām paśyati Rohiṇī kathaya me sanhyajyatām vepathuh
mattānām madhu-bhājanegṣv'atīkathāḥ śrotum sahāsa iva
striṇām kuṇḍala-koṭi-bhinna-kirāṇaś candrah samutliṣṭhati.*⁹

In the light of the foregoing we propose to translate the verse under review as follows :

The roof of a mansion, the rays of the moon, wine with lotus (-buds floating on its surface), a beloved languid with inebriation, a lyre, amorous conversation, privacy and garlands, this group form Cupid's snare.¹⁰

⁵ Included by Drs. Motichandra and V. S. Agrawala in *Śṛṅgāra hāṭa*, published by Hindi Granth Ratnakar, Bombay, 1960, pp. 63-120. According to the editors, it belongs to the Gupta period.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁸ It is also included in *Śṛṅgāra-hāṭa* and is supposed to belong to the Gupta age.

⁹ Verse 106.

¹⁰ I had an occasion to discuss this verse earlier in my doctoral thesis. I had then followed Kern and Sastri. The real meaning of the phrase *sot-palam madhu* occurred to me on going through the *Dhūrta-viṭa-saṁvāda* and *Pādatāḍitaka*.

CULTIVATION OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE BY THE NĀGARAS OF GUJARAT

By

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Says Prof. E. G. Browne, "The Persian literature produced in India has not as a rule, the real Persian flavour."¹ But it is an undeniable fact that India has produced a number of Persian poets and prose-writers, some of whom have left a deep impress upon the Persian literature in general and the contribution of the Gujaratis was also remarkable. Amongst the Gujaratis, Nāgaras, who claim to be the highest among the Brahmin castes of Gujarat penetrated deep into the Persian language and literature.

The Nāgaras are generally divided into six main divisions--Vaḍanagarā, Visanagarā, Sāṭhodrā, Citroḍā, Kriśnorā and Praśnorā—these names signifying their places of origin. The Nāgaras made their appearance in Kathiawar and Gujarat for the first time with the Valabhī kings in the sixth century A.D.² Since then, they have proved a shrewd and intelligent people. They are considered to be the worshippers of the soul of the widely known trinity, 'Kalama, Kadachhee and Barachee'—the pen, the ladle and the lance, which means that proficiency in the use of the pen, the art of cooking and finally the art and science of war has been generally looked upon as their chief characteristic. Symbolically viewed they represent three kinds of culture *viz*: mental, moral or spiritual and physical. 'Loyalty to the throne at all costs' seems to have been their motto consistent and persistent in all their endeavours and actions.

In spite of their contact with the Mohmeddians for defensive purpose or otherwise, long before the dawn of the Muslim rule in Gujarat, the Nāgaras do not seem to have made any noteworthy study of Persian.

To consider this, we shall have to commence from the order (A.H. 990-A.D. 1582) of Todarmal, Akbar's revenue minister, to have all papers written in Persian (instead of one set in Persian and a duplicate set in Hindi as under Shershah). This compelled all Hindu officials to master the Persian language. Politically it became the only language recognised, so whoever aspired to state service or political advancement had, of necessity, to study it. Among the Hindus, Kāyasthas were the first to study Persian to enter the imperial service. Towards the end of the 16th century, some members of this caste were deputed to Gujarat, as MUTASADDIS. The Nāgaras being by nature, like Kāyasthas,

¹ Browne—Persian Literature under the Tartar Dominions, P. 107.

² R. E. Enthovan—The Tribes and Castes of Bombay, P. 235.

adaptable to new circumstances, pushing, astute and fond of power and position, many of them emulating the example of the latter took to the study of Persian. Thereby they advanced themselves into power at different native states of Gujarat and played a distinguished role in the politics thereof. So many, on account of their proficiency in Persian, rose to posts of DIVANS, VAKILS, BAXIS, DAFTARDARS and PESHKARS.

Dalpatram (d. A.D. 1748) was the DIVĀNA of Sherkhan Bahadur of Junagadha (A.D. 1748-58). In the end of the 18th century, Amarji, a Nāgara of Mangrol, was all powerful in Junagadh and his sons Raghunathji and Ranchhodji succeeded him when he was assassinated (A.D. 1784).

Mayaram was the DIVĀNA of Nawwab Teghbegkhan (A.D. 1726-46) of Surat and his son Kriparam Maheta, of Nawwab Quimu'd-Dawla upto A.D. 1800.

Nathmal and Laldas were the VAKILS of Jawanmardkhan II. One, Mugatram was enjoying the post of BAXI in Junagadh.

Sarabhai Maheta was the DAFTARDAR to the Resident at Baroda. His younger brother Chhotalal was the first DAFTARDAR of Kathiawar at the commencement of the British rule there. Madhurai was the DAFTARDAR in the time of Diwāna Raghunathji Amarji (d. A.D. 1875) in Junagadh.

Shankarprasad worked as the PESHKAR of Muhammadkhan, the commander in the time of Mominkhan, the Subadar of Ahmedabad. Vrajlal, Brijlal and Gulabrai were, one after another, the PESHKARS of Mominkhan, the Mutasaddi of Cambay. Manohardas Trikamdas was the Peshkar of Diwāna Amarji, and Uttamram, of Diwāna Ranchhodji.

The Nāgaras were so greatly enamoured of Persian that some of the members of the Raiji family of Surat changed their original names for Mijlasrai (corrupted from 'Majlis'), Sahebrai etc. to have a Persian flavour. Sahebrai used to recite his evening prayers in Persian.¹ He possessed a choleric temper and got easily irritated. So even his family-priest used to talk with him in Persian lest the plain truth spoken in Gujarati should offend the master.

Mitharam, one of the ancestors of the wellknown Diwanji family of Surat gave his name and address in Persian in the record book of the Brahmin-priest at Trimbak, the place of pilgrimage near Nasik.

The Late Rao Saheb R. J. Desai (Halol) informed me that his grandfather Bajibhai used to say that he learnt the evening prayer from Persian.

When the study of Persian was in vogue amongst the Nāgaras, they used to play 'bait-bazi' in caste-dinners for witty enjoyments. This proves that the study of Persian was so common in this caste that they could have a sufficient number of people capable enough to take part in the game.

¹ Narmadashanker, P. 49 (Gujarati).

The Nāgaras and Kāyasthas used to gather together² in a certain place and recite their Qasidahs as in MUSHĀARAS.

During the whole of the Mughal period, the proficiency in the composition of Persian poetry, compilation of history in Persian and the study of the literature were reckoned as marks of scholarship. So the Nāgaras took to the attainment of the same. Even after the commencement of the British rule when English was made the language of the Government papers and court (A. D. 1829), Persian did not lose its hold on the minds of the Nāgaras. The literary trend remained the same. Those who had the necessary learning and leisure naturally wrote in this language and followed the path trodden by their fathers and forefathers. It was not that either prose or poetry monopolized their pens. They wrote in both.

Importance of Persian knowledge necessitated the works of the best authors to be copied down with as much elegance and elaboration as their quality demanded, for the special study and for the personal library, as printing was unknown in India in those days. This process naturally led to a widespread taste among people for beautiful handwriting, which came to be regarded as a fine art indispensable to the accomplished gentleman. A good many instances can be cited of poets and prose-writers amongst the Nāgaras who were also good calligraphists.

The post of MUNSHI was considered as a special prerogative of and was reserved for scholars, who could also write a beautiful hand. The Nāgaras did not lag behind in the art.

Private correspondence also contributed to the growth of penmanship.

Every one of the Nāgara MUNSHIS seems to have been able to write Persian verses and epigrams in which the date of an event was yielded by the total numerical value of the Arabic letters contained in the significant phrase or sentence, as calculated by the rules of ABJAD.

The facts gathered for the subject are not such that they can be arranged chronologically; so I have taken, first of all, the notices of eminent literary men and the works produced by them, then the mention, in brief, of the handwritten diaries, then of RUQA'ĀT, thereafter MSS. copied by the Nāgaras and lastly the brief mention of some who have been known to have proficiency in Persian.

Jagjivandas : He was the son of Madhavdas Gujarati. He compiled *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*. He states in the preface that he wrote his works in A. H. 1120, in the reign of Muhammad Mu'azzam Shah Bahadur Padshah. He had entered the imperial service in A.H. 1105 and had, from that time, kept a record of passing events. He worked as the MIR MUNSHI of the deputy SUBA-

² Biography of Nandshankar, P. 49 (Gujarati).

DAR Muhammad Beg Khan. Thereafter he was appointed as the WAQAI'-Nawis at Rajpipla.¹ With the exception of the chapter relating to Bahadurshah, the book appears to have been transcribed with slight alterations, from the Lubbu'-t-Tawarikh of Rai Bindravan.

Ishwardas:—Ishwardas of Pattan compiled his Futuhāt-e-Alamgiri—a historical survey of Aurangzeb and his reign upto the 34th year while he was living a retired life² and finished it when he was seventy-six years of age in A.D. 1731. Dr. J. Bird³ describing a MS. of the same work in his possession calls him Shridas, a Nāgara Brahmin of Gujarat. Jadunath Sarkar, the erudite historian, procured a MS. copy of the same from the British Museum. For the materials about the events that occurred between the Rajputs and Aurangzeb, he depended upon it for his history.

*Dalpatrai*⁴:—He wrote Malāhat-i-Maqal—a collection of historical narratives and anecdotes, at the age of fifty seven. He was born, as he states at the end, in Ahmedabad where his father, Gulabrai held the office of MUTASADDI and he attained great proficiency in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Bhakha. He started the compilation of the work in Jodhpur by the order of Maharaja Madhu Singh and completed after the Raja's death in A.H. 1181 (A.D. 1767) for his own son, Sampatrai. We learn from other passages that the author had spent eighteen years in the service of Maharaja Jagatsingh of Udaipur for whom he translated the Diwan-i-Hafiz into Hindi.

Diwan Ranchhodji:—Ranchhodji, the famous Diwāna of Junagadh, a Vāḍnagarā Nāgara, was born in the year A.D. 1768. He rendered yeoman's service to the development of the study of Persian in Gujarat. He had imbibed the spirit both of the language and of its literature. He wrote much on widely different subjects. The marvellous work, Tarikh-i-Sorath has been so very patriotically and poetically penned by Ranchhodji whose flashing genius has won for him an undying fame both in the field of arms and in the realm of letters. He has given a brief history of Sorath and Halar upto the year A.D. 1839. It seems to have been modelled on the Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi. But the difference that lies in the plan is that the author of the Mir'āt carefully kept the historical part separate from the topographicals and descriptive part, which entirely takes up the Khatima, but in the Tarikh-i'-Sorath, both are mixed up. The Tarikh has, however, its own special features. One of the MSS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, begins not with the usual formula of Bismillahi-r-Rehmani'-r-Raḥīm but with an invocation to the Hindu God, Banam-e-Shankar Jagannath.

¹ Riev. Vol. I, p. 231 b.

² Nagarotpatti, p. 89 (Gujarati).

³ History of Gujarat, p. 89.

⁴ Riev. Vol. II, p. 1005 b.

In the end, Ranchhodji writes, "This book, I have named Waqai'-i-Sorath and I wrote it for the perusal of my beloved and intelligent son, Shankaraprasad." This means that his son also was conversant with Persian.

From the Ruqa'ant-i-Ranchhodji, we can have an idea as to how letters were written in Persian in Gujarat and Kathiawar.

His Jangnama-i-Holi is a pen-picture of the Holi festival of the Hindus.

He was the first person to translate the Kurāṇa Parva and Aśwamedha Parva into Persian after the learned Faiḍi who translated the whole of the Mahābhārata, in collaboration with Badaoni, Naqib Khān, Mulla Shiri, Haji Sultan and others.

Tashifat-e-Ranchhodji is his another book.

He wrote a book in which there is the admixture of Persian, Vraj and Sanskrit. Its name is not known.¹

Sarabhai and his family:—The services rendered by this Vajṇagarā Nāgara family to the Persian literature are unique. Kripashankar, the grand-father of Sarabhai was very proficient in Persian and Nathmal Maheta,² the father of Kripashankar was a Persian scholar of no mean order. It seems, from the time of Narsinhdas, the great grand-father of Nathmal Maheta, the study of Persian started in the family. From the Government records, it is gathered that Colonel Walker, the then Resident at Baroda, went to Kadi in A.D. 1802. To be acquainted with the affairs there, he stood in need of a Persian-knowing person. Bapabhai, the father of Sarabhai, who was an adept in Persian, having been found fit for the purpose, was deputed to help Colonel Walker. Thereafter, he died at a very premature age of thirtyeight. He could compose fine poems.

Sarabhai, who as the result of poverty in his boyhood had to purchase his instruction in Persian by performing menial work of fetching out a hundred buckets of water from the well at his MUNSHI'S house everyday, rose mainly by dint of his personal merits, industry and individuality, to the influential post of DAFTARADĀR to the Resident at Baroda, the highest post open in his times to natives under the British rule.

He acquired a fair knowledge of English—a very rare thing in his times. James Williams, Resident at Baroda (A.D. 1820-37)¹ knew Persian and his assistant knew Urdu. Sarabhai, because of his knowledge of Persian, worked as an interpreter between them.

It is said that in A.D. 1820, Elphinstone visited Baroda. He could speak Persian with ease and fluency; so Sarabhai composed a Qasidah in his praise. The governor was so pleased with him that he increased his pay. Soon after

¹ Ranchhodji Diwan—p. 19 (Gujarati).

² Mirat-i-Ahmadi—Part II, p. 440.

that, he got the appointment as DAFTARDAR on a salary of Rs. 500/ in A.D. 1827.

There were so many letters of his to his son, Bholanath, lying scattered. Bholanath collected all and named the collection Maadanu-i-Insha. The date on the MS. in the Apārāva Bholānātha Library, Ahmedabad is A.H. 1275, Vikrama Samvat 1915 (A.D. 1859).

Sarabhai compiled a history entitled Ahwal-i-Gaekwar. Beginning from the domination of the Marathas in Gujarat, he describes their levying CHOTH and SARDESHMUKHI and their unruly behaviour in Ahmedabad, Deccan and Malwa.

He also compiled a brief history entitled Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Gujarat. He has briefly dealt with the history of Rajas, Nazims and Sultans of Gujarat and the supremacy of the Marathas upto the domination of the Peshwas. MS. copies of this and Ahwal-i-Gaekwar, one of each, are in the Apārāva Bholānātha Library, Ahmedabad.

Chhotamlal, his younger brother, was also an erudite scholar of Persian. He translated into Gujarati, *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* and *Khulasatu'-t-Tawarikh*. Twentythree volumes, each of $1\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{4}$ ft., are in the library of the Gujarāta Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad.

Bholanath, the only son of Sarabhai, was born in A.D. 1822 and died in A.D. 1886. He enjoyed high posts in the judicial department. He was a prominent reformist and a born Gujarati poet and prose-writer. It is said that during his time there were very few people in Gujarat knowing Persian so well as he. His whole life was that of a student. He remained occupied in reading and writing books till late at night. His library in Persian consisted of precious MSS. on different subjects—philosophy, music, astronomy, Tazkira, Ruq'āt, Diwān, history, grammar, ethics, dictionary etc. The collection had formerly been a part of the Apārāva Bholānātha Library. But after the worms had had the lion's share, the remnants were handed over to the Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad, for voracious scholars. The worms, ignorant of the value of Nuqtas, cut them extravagantly like elementary school children, thus making the task of the scholars more difficult.

The study of Persian in this way remained hereditary and continued upto the time of Narsinharao Bholanath, a sparkling star of great magnitude in the literary firmament of Gujarat. Bholanath wished the study of Persian to be continued in the family. But the method of his tutor Gauharali was old and irksome, so he was disgusted and consequently gave it up after the study of a part of *Karima* and only a few pages from the *Hikāyat-i-Laṭif*. He gives an interesting episode of the time of the closing chapter of the study of Persian in this family. He says, "Once when my sister's son Gulabshankar (generally

known by the petname Chhanukaka) was studying Karima, my father asked him what is the meaning of the *تکیہ* *نپا یدار ہرعمہ ممکن* (as *عمر* in Gujarati also means 'threshold' and *تکیم* 'pillow'). On the spur of the moment he replied, 'We should not lie down on the threshold putting a pillow there'.¹

Gulabrai:—Gulbrai, a Vāḍnagarā Nāgara of Surat, was a poet and MUNSHI. There is a collection of his verses in the Apārāva Bholānātha Library, Ahmedabad. His achievements as a poet as far as can be judged from what has been preserved of his poems seem to be of a high order. The date on the collection is A. H. 1236 (A. D. 1821). There were two pamphlets named 'رے نام' and 'واو نام'. The arrangement is very interesting. From the commencement upto the end, all verses end with 'ر', the first three verses begin with 'ا', then three, with ب and then with ت and so on upto ی. His *واو نام* is also of the same type.

Balashanker Kantharia:—(A.D. 1898-1942) Balashanker was a great scholar of Persian. He translated several GHAZALS of Hafiz into Gujarati verse. Being a great poet of Gujarati, he cast his Gujarati GHAZALS in the same mould of thought and style as of Hafiz. He started a series of translations of histories in Persian into Gujarati beginning with *Āi'n-i-Akbari*, *Tarikh-i-Farish-tah*, *Mir'āt-e-Sikandari* and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.

Sundarlal:—He was serving in Udaipur in the time of Arsi Singhji. He completed an Arabic-Persian into Hindustani dictionary in A.D. 1819.

Ranchhodlal Chhotalal and his family:—In this Sāthodrā Nāgara family, the study of Persian seems to have remained hereditary. As Chhotalal was proficient in Persian, in his service under Vithoba Diwāna, the then Viceroy of Pattan, he was best fitted to perform the office of enlisting new recruits who were generally Arabs. By virtue of his office, he was called BAXI, a title which his descendants inherited. He knew Persian medicines very well.

The great-great grand-father of Chhotalal, Kahanji Maheta, wrote in Dholka near Ahmedabad, a Persian book entitled *Bostan*.²

Ranchhodlal, the father of mill-industry in Gujarat (born in A.D. 1823 in Ahmedabad), studied Persian with Bholanath under his father Sarabhai. He died in A.D. 1898.

Diaries:—So many Nāgaras were in the habit of recording noteworthy things in Persian in the form of Bayaz. Here is a list of handwritten diaries in the Gujarāta Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad. A perusal thereof gives us an idea as to how proficient they were in Persian.

1. The diary of Shivilal bin Sundarlal containing a Ruq'a'āt of Nandlalji, one of Udairam Mehta, two of Revashankar (on one, there is the date 3rd Rabi-ul-Awwal, A.H. 1175/A.D. 1721), one of Rajshankar, some of the sons of Maheta

¹ Smaranmukar, p. 18 (Gujarati).

² Rao Bahadur Ranchhodlal Chhotalal Jivan Charitra, p. 6.

Tuljadas Jivanji, some of Munshi Diwanji, one of Sadashankar Ranchhoddas who was a poet, some from Sukhrām to Munshi Gulabchand and replies thereof, as well as many from the latter, a Qasida composed by Maheta Sukhrām in praise of Sa'ādatkhan and a Qasidah composed by Maheta Sahi Rajashankar bin Tuljashankar (Nom-de-plume Ahkari) who had a greater leaning towards Sufism, in which he writes about the date of the death of Damaji:—

جست تاریخ وفا تیشی چون عقل هاتف ز روی الم گفت شتافت. 1181 (A.D. 1767).

2. The diary of Munshi Nandalal of Ahmedabad contains ruqa'āt. One of them is addressed to Ali Muhammadkhan Diwan. Also there are some Qasidahs composed by himself. Some of them are in praise of Gopalrao Subadar of Ahmedabad in the time of Fatehsinghrao. There are some rubayy'āt and some verses in praise of God. He completed it in A.H. 1176 (A.D. 1762, Vikram Samvat 1819).

3. The diary of Nandarai of Ahmedabad was transcribed by Nandalal Vohra in A.H. 1177 (A.D. 1763).

4. The diary of Kishanji Vaid (Baid in Persian) containing more than 300 pages was completed in Jamadiu'-l-Awwal of A.H. 1182 (Vikram Samvat 1824). There is also a MS. named Ruqa'-i-Gharib of the same person.

5. The diary of Bhavanishankarrao bearing the date 7th Rabi'u'-l-Awwal A.H. 1183 (A.D. 1769).

6. The diary of Maheta Shobharam of Ahmedabad.

7 The diary of Kirparam Mehta, the Diwāna of Qaimu-d-Daula upto A.D. 1800 who was an expert in deciphering the Shikastah writing.¹ He was also a Persian poet.

Ruqa'āt:— In the Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā Library there are Ruqa'āt of Maheta Sukhrām (A. H. 1123), Munshi Bhalchand (A. H. 1218), Girdharilal (A.H. 1237) and also a small booklet entitled Al-Insha by Bhupatrai—all these were Nāgaras.

In the Apārāva Bholānātha Library, Ahmedabad, there are some MSS. like Yusuf-o-Zulaikha of Jami—a part of which is copied by Tavari (Maheta) Mulshankar and a part by Udaishankar Shankarlal (A.H. 1219, Baroda) and a collection of verses by Navinchandrarai Shivram of Surat (A.H. 1236).

There are also some MSS. in the library of the Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, whose scribes were Nāgaras, like Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi-Qani'i copied by Sarabhai Maheta (A.H. 1222), Khulasatu'-t-Tawarikh-Sajanrai Batalwi by Shambhulal (A.H. 1250), Mirat-i-Sikandari by Ishwarlal Bhogilal (V.S. 1866) and others.

There are some of the MSS. of the personal library of Diwāna Ranchhodji of Junagadh now with the Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā, Bombay, that have been copied by Nāgaras like Manishankar Narbheram and Shankarprasad.

¹ Vadanagara Nagaro—Diwan Bahadur Thakordas Kapilram, p. 16.

The MS. copy of the *Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi* in the Bombay University Library was transcribed by Brijdas Rangildas, a Vaiṣṇava Nāgara of Junagadh (V.S. 1881).

Following are those Nāgaras who have been known to have the innate love for the study of Persian :—

Nathji bin Khimji belonging to Vadnagar, a capable Munshi (living in A.D. 1652), Maheta Ūdairam Bhatt (living in A.D. 1748), Jashwantraī (living in A.D. 1749), Rangildas (d. V. S. 1884), who used to write Persian and Gujarati for Labaji Saheb, Diwāna of Baroda, Trikamji Vaid, the son of Kishanji Vaid, a good calligraphist (living in A.D. 1803), Hariprasad Shankarprasad, a Vaḍṇa-garā Nāgara, an efficient calligraphist (living in A.D. 1825), Atmaramji of Surat serving in the Diwani department of the Nawwab of Surat (living in A.D. 1848), Maheta Tuljashankar of Ahmedabad, Vaid Indrajī Narbheram who worked as a treasurer for thirty years in Junagadh, Mathuradas Bhagwandas of Junagadh, a capable calligraphist, Madhavlal Gangadhar and Raojibhai Madhavlal, both father and son, judicial officers in the Baroda State service about 50 years back, Balvantraī of Halol, Shankarprasad Desai, a pleader of Ahmedabad, Trimbaklal Desai and Hardayal Munshi, learned men of Surat and Atmaram Motiram Diwanji of Broach who translated *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* from the original Persian into Gujarati in A.D. 1914. Ramanlal V. Desai, famous Gujarati novelist and Nitirai Kharod had Persian as their special subject at B.A.

In this way in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Nāgaras of Gujarat furnished a large contingent of Persian scholars including poets, prosewriters, historians, calligraphists and those who combined literary merits with administrative capacities.

As for the form in which Persian was written in verse, it can be said, in general, they at times reproduced the Gujarati ideas in their composition. But they did not ignore the very genus and essence of the language in which they were writing. The result was a production to all outward appearance, a Persian poem clothed in the Persian garb and conforming to Persian patterns. The works are found on close perusal interesting.

All the fruits of the incessant labour of the Nāgaras have been locked up in private houses of their descendants or relatives. Ahmedabad, Surat and Junagadh have been the strongholds of the Nāgara community and consequently possess rich stores of ample research material for the Persian scholars who would do well not to shirk toil and travail involved in pursuing the quest with avidity, assiduity and fervency to make it available to the public. Research institutions and private bodies should offer their whole-hearted support and give them an incentive to put their shoulders to the wheel. If done so, it will prove like a beacon throwing light on many hitherto shrouded incidents in the history of Gujarat in general and the Nāgaras in particular.

SOURCES OF THE RĀMA-STORY OF PAUMACARIYAM

By

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To begin with we shall first of all like to know what Vimalasūri has to say about the sources of the Rāmakathā of his Paumacariyam and we shall critically examine the authenticity of his statements. Further we shall scrutinize the various elements of his Rāmakathā to find out whether the story represents some independent tradition or is based upon older works or is partly independent and partly derivative.

Critical Examination of Vimalasūri's Statements

Vimalasūri gives three statements in connection with the sources of his work. He tells us (i) that he is narrating the story of Padma (Rāma) that has come down traditionally in the form of 'series of names' (nāmāvaliyani-baddham āyariyaparaṃparāgayam—PCV. 1.8), (ii) that the traditional story was narrated by Lord Mahāvīra to Ākhaṇḍalabhūti (Indrabhūti) and from the latter it passed on to the posterity through his successive disciples (FCV. 1.90; 118.102) and (iii) that his work is based on the biographies (caritas) of Nārāyaṇas and Baladevas (Sīrin) preserved in the Pūrvagata (Puvvagae nārāyaṇasiricariyāim—PCV. 118.118). It is clear from the above statements that Vimalasūri composed his work on the basis of the Pūrvagata, Oral tradition and the Series of Names.

As far as the Pūrvagata is concerned we have the following information about it. Pūrvagata formed the third section of Drṣṭivāda, the 12th Aṅga of the Jaina canonical (Āgama) literature, but it is nowhere mentioned in the Jaina scriptures that Pūrvagata which consisted of 14 Pūrvas, contained any narrative material. The Nandisūtra-56, tells us that the fourth section of Drṣṭivāda, called Anuyoga, contained biographies of Tīrthaṅkaras, Cakravartins, Baladevas and other religious personages. Shri H. R. Kapadia (See HCLJ p. 11) while discussing the order of the composition of 12 Aṅgas and various sections of the Drṣṭivāda surmises that the 14 Pūrvas should also mean Drṣṭivāda as a whole, in a broader sense. Prof. J. Charpentier (Uttara. Int. p. 22) also holds that the Drṣṭivāda or the Pūrvas is much the same thing. In that light Vimalasūri's reference to the Pūrvagata should mean the Drṣṭivāda as a whole and the Drṣṭivāda, says Dr. A. N. Upadhye, contained some Kathānakas as it appears from certain references in the Nirvyuktis (See Bṛhatkathākośa, Int. p. 31).

We should have sought for the source of Paumacariyam in the relevant sections of Drṣṭivāda, but the Jaina tradition (See HCLJ. Ch. 4) holds that it was lost long ago and our author also emphasises this point (Evaṃ paraṃparāe

parihāṇi puvvaganthaatthāṇaṃ 1.11). J. Charpentier also upholds the Jaina tradition and concludes that the Pūrvas gradually went into oblivion (See Uttara, Int. p. 24).

As regards the Oral tradition which consisted of the discourses and preachings of Lord Mahāvīra it is held that His words were gradually codified in the form of the Āgama literature, notwithstanding the fact that certain details still remained in the oral shape. Further it is also maintained by the Jaina tradition that the Aṅgas are also derived from the Dṛṣṭivāda or Pūrvagata. Thus as far as the Āgama literature and especially the Aṅgas are concerned there are references to Sītā and Tārā in the tenth Aṅga, namely, Praśnavyākaraṇa sūtra (No. 16). Here we could seek for the source of the Jaina Rāma-story but the above Aṅga is regarded as a later work because its contents do not correspond to the table of contents given in the Sthānāṅga and the Nandisūtra (See HIL. II. p. 452).

Now we come to the series of names. They are given in the Samavāyāṅga (Su. 157-158) and Tiloyapaṇṇatti (4.421ff). The points of the Samavāyāṅga (Su. 158) bearing on the Padma-story are as follows:—

Padma and Nārāyaṇa (Lakṣmaṇa) were the sons of Daśaratha, born of Aparājītā and Kaikeyī respectively. They were the eighth Baladeva and Vāsudeva respectively. Nārāyaṇa killed Rāvaṇa, the eighth Prativāsudeva. Padma attained Mokṣa. Padma was Aparājīta and Nārāyaṇa was Punarvasu in their previous birth. At that time their preceptor was Samudra. Punarvasu observed some one's prowess and made a resolution 'Nidāna' at Mithilāpurī. Vimalasūri's Padma-story agrees with the above points except the following:—The birth name of Lakṣmaṇa's mother is Kaikeyī (different from Bharata's mother), but her popular name is Sumitrā. Padma is nowhere mentioned as Aparājīta in his previous births and there is no reference to Samudra as his or Punarvasu's preceptor. Punarvasu belonged to Pratiṣṭhāṇapura and he had resolved (made a 'nidāna') to marry a certain girl in his next birth (See Supra. Ch. 4, Story No. 43 and 55).

The Tiloyapaṇṇatti (4.1411-14-38) names the eighth Baladeva as Rāma and the ninth one as Padma (i. e. the brother of Kṛṣṇa). Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are said to have lived 17000 and 12000 years respectively (See PCV. 118. 86; 114. 27, 29). The former attained Mokṣa and Rāvaṇa went to hell. The PCV agrees with the above points except that of the name of the eighth Baladeva.

Then in the Sthānāṅga Su. 672 there is a list of the names of the fathers of Baladevas and Vāsudevas and Daśaratha is mentioned as the father of eighth Baladeva and Vāsudeva.

Thus we find that the facts noted in the Samavāyāṅga, Sthānāṅga and Trilokaprajñapti are generally in agreement as far as they go in our work. What-

ever variations are found, they can be explained as due to oral tradition which should have differed in its details with various preceptors. This fact is widely observed in the *Caritas* of illustrious persons of the Jaina faith, composed by various Jaina authors. The 'nāmāvalis' were the memory verses which served as an aid to teachers in their expounding the narratives handed over to the successive pupils by the oral tradition.

So far as the present evidences go Vimalasūri seems to have composed his epic on the basis of 'nāmāvalis' and the details he traditionally inherited from his preceptor.

Vimalasūri's Acquaintance with the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki

Vimalasūri emphasises the point how he was inspired to compose *Paumacariyaṃ*. His inspiration is expressed through king Śreṇika. He entertains some doubts in the story popular in the 'loyasattha' = *lokaśāstra* (PCV. 2.105-107). He feels that the popular *Rāmāyaṇa* which contains many inconsistencies is composed by liars (PCV. 2.116-117). He approaches Gautama, the first Gaṇadhara of Lord Mahāvīra and requests him to narrate the true story of Padma (PCV. 3.8). The unbelievable elements incorporated in the popular *Rāmāyaṇa* are mentioned by the author. They are (PCV. 2.105-117 ; 3.8-13) as follows :— (A) Rāma killed a golden deer. (B) Rāma stealthily assassinated Vāli for the cause of Sugrīva and Sūtārā. (C) The Vānaras were monkeys. (D) The monkeys built a bridge. (E) The monkeys fought and killed the Rākṣasa warriors though the latter were far superior in valour. (F) The celestial Indra was imprisoned and was taken over to Laṅkā. (G) The Rākṣasas used to take flesh and wine. (H) Kumbhakarna, brother of Rāvaṇa slumbered continuously for six months. He never woke before that period, even if, elephants trampled over his body or his ears were filled with (boiling) oil measuring many pots or drums were beaten sounding very loudly. On being tormented by severe hunger, he used to swallow elephants, buffaloes, human beings and the Suras (Devas).

The earliest work which contains all these inconsistencies as alleged by our author, is the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. The following portions of the VR contain the respective inconsistencies :—

(A) 3.42-44 (B) 4.8-26 (C) 5.10.54; 5.53; 6.4.63-67; (D) 6.23. (E) 6.40, 43-44, 52-56. 59, 69-70, 77, 82, 93, 96-99. (F) 7.29-30 (G) 2.116.11-12; 3.2. 13-14; 3.19.19-20; 3.38.3; 5.22.9; 7.10.37; (H) 6.60.31-63; 6.61.27. Only the point No. B is at some variance. According to the VR Rāma killed Vāli for restoring Sugrīva to his original political status and for recovering his wife Rūmā who had been kidnapped by Vāli. Afterwards Vāli's wife, Tārā accepted Sugrīva as her husband. So to say, Rāma killed Vāli for the cause of Sugrīva, not for that of Tārā. Still the presence of the above mentioned topics in the VR proves that Vimalasūri was well acquainted with the story of VR.

Peculiarities of the Rāma-Story of Paumacariyam

A comparative study of the Rāma-story of Paumacariyam and Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa shows that Vimalasūri was not only well acquainted with the VR but his work has been sufficiently influenced by the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa.¹ Still the Paumacariyam reveals many differences with the VR as regards the details.² These differences speak of the following peculiarities in the Paumacariyam.³

There is largely absence of (1) Wonderful elements; (2) Divine elements; (3) Exaggerations and (4) Unbelievable things. (5) The story sounds Realistic. (6) Under various circumstances the characters have been elevated and (7) There is total absence of Brahmanical atmosphere. (8) The story moves in the Jain environment; and (9) there are some other elements fitting in with the story of Vimalasūri's plan and pattern.

Now we shall examine these peculiarities to find out whether these differences have been introduced by Vimalasūri to mould the Rāma-story of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa in his own way or the author had some traditional backing for these changes.

Scrutiny of Peculiarities and Three Probabilities

In view of the above analysis one might be induced to think that Vimalasūri adapted the Rāma-story of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa and remoulded it with the following three aims or motives:—

(a) Purging the story of its exaggerations and elements divine, wonderful and unbelievable to give it a realistic form based on rational outlook.

(b) Emptying the story of its Brahmanical elements and infusing it with Jaina atmosphere to propagate Jainism.

(c) Reshaping the story or introducing some new elements for elevating the characters and for making the story befitting to his own plan and pattern.

Dr. V. M. Kulkarni has come to the following conclusion:

He says that (1) the origin of Vimala's Paumacariyam which is the earliest Jaina form of Rāma-story, is the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki,⁴ and Vimala was prompted to effect various changes in his Rāma-story on account of the above mentioned motives.⁵

The above theory seems at first to be fairly convincing, but a closer scrutiny establishes something different and disproves the authenticity of this

¹ Details discussed in my Thesis (Ch. VI. Sec. 1. B. 4).

² *Ibid.* VI. 1. B (3).

³ *Ibid.* VI. 1. D.

⁴ JOI, Vol. IX. No. 2, p. 204, 'The Origin and Development of the Rāma-story in Jaina Literature'.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 199-203.

conclusion. Dr. V. M. Kulkarni has not taken into consideration the Rāma-story of Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki which differs greatly with the story of the present inflated versions of V, R.

A glance at the tables of contents given at two places in the Bālakāṇḍa (Ch. 1 and 3) of VR shows as to what extent the Rāmāyaṇa has been inflated during the subsequent period. It is held by Dr. H. Jacobi (Das. Ram. p. 10) that the contents given in the first chapter of the Bālakāṇḍa of VR form the nucleus of the oldest form of VR. Further Dr. Kulkarni has not examined also the other traditions of the early non-Jain works on Rāma-story in his article. We shall deal with them as well as take note of the views of scholars to find out whether the Rāma-story of PCV has some traditional backing or Vimalasūri has merely remoulded the story of VR to suit his own purpose.

As far as the first aim is concerned one cannot claim that the Paumacariyaṃ has been totally emptied of all unbelievable elements for there are still some instances of this type in it which can be mentioned as follows:—

Conjuring up of a town by a Yakṣa for the sojourn of Rāma in exile (35.23). Conversion of the first-pit into a reservoir of water during Sītā's ordeal (102.19). Reappearing of the head and the limbs of Rāvaṇa as many times as they were severed of by Lakṣmaṇa (72.16-18). Raising of the peak of Kailāsa mountain by Rāvaṇa (9.69). Rāvaṇa's and Sāhasagati's (sham Sugrīva's) supernatural powers of assuming the form of their liking (8.25; 47.43). Conjuring up of hobgoblins by Rāvaṇa to frighten Sītā (46.52). Assistance of celestial Garuḍādhīpati to Rāma in the battle field (59.83). Hanumanta's feat of bringing the waters of the sea to extinguish the conflagration (51.6). Power of Vidyādhara Sahasrāra to conjure up the paraphernalia of celestial Lord (7.6). Nourishment of Nārada by celestial beings (11.64). And above all bestowing the Vidyādhara's with supernatural powers.

Had it been the sole aim of Vimala to drop the inconsistencies and unbelievable things from the Rāma story of popular Rāmāyaṇa, *i.e.* the VR, then why he should have again introduced such elements which go against his own contention of a true story-teller? It appears that he narrates the story that he traditionally got and gave it the form that was in accordance with his own imagination or idea, pattern and plan governed by the period in which he lived.

We shall see further that many such elements of VR, which are not found in the FCV, were not the part of the original Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa and some of them are not found even in the earlier non-Jaina works.

As regards the second aim it is important to note that the story of Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa was that of an ideal Kṣatriya. The Brahmanical colouring was given to it by the later interpolators,

For the third aim the consequent discussion will show how far there was backing of some tradition and to what extent Vimalasūri gave a new shape to the story.

Now we shall quote evidences from Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa as well as from other early Brahmanical and Buddhist works on Rāma-story and the views of scholars to examine critically the validity of the alleged probabilities and the value of our contentions.

In criticism of the first aim the following points are worth consideration :

The PCV mentions that Sītā was the legal daughter of Janaka. It is supported by the Rāmopākhyāna of MB and the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa. In the Kathāsaritsāgara (9.1.60) also Sītā is not referred to as Ayonijā but as Janakātmajā. Not only that but even in the Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa, *i.e.* the contents given in the first chapter of Bālakāṇḍa of VR (1.1.27), she is said to be 'janakasya kule jātā' (See Supra ch. 3 sec. 2B).

The PCV does not refer to any device of deer for abducting Sītā. The Buddhist as well as some Brahmanical works also do not refer to it. The Anāmakaṁ Jātakaṁ and the Kūrmapurāṇa are such instances. The Kathāsaritsāgara (9.1.62) mentions that Rāvaṇa kidnapped Sītā deceitfully (māyayā). There is no reference to any deer. Even in the VR at (1.1.52), *i.e.* in the Ādi Rāmāyaṇa it is mentioned that deceitful Mārīca led away Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, but there is no reference to the deer. Mr. C. V. Vaidya holds that the episode of deer is a later interpolation in the VR (See Supra. ch. 3 sec. 5D),

The PCV does not mention that Hanumanta manifested his huge form while crossing the sea and changed his form while entering the city of Laṅkā. It is supported by the Rāmopākhyāna (MB. 3. 282.59-60). Not only that but even the VR at 1.1.72 (*i.e.* Ādi Rāmāyaṇa) does not refer to these two incidents.

The PCV does not refer to setting Laṅkā on fire by Hanumanta. This episode, as held by Dr. Jacobi, is interpolated later in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa (vide Bulcke p. 366).

The PCV has no reference to the constructing of a bridge to cross the sea. The Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka, the Hindu Padmapurāṇa and the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa also do not refer to the bridge. They mention some other devices (See supra. Ch. 3 Sec. 8A).

There is a general reference in the PCV that Rāma and his Vānara army reached Laṅkā driving in their Yānas, Vāhanas, and Vimānas (54.37) after defeating Samudra, a chieftain (54.40-45). It indicates that Samudra guarded the sea frontiers of Laṅkā. As regards the non-Jaina works the Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka mentions that the sea gave way when Rāma was ready to discharge an arrow from his bow. The Padmapurāṇa (Pātālakhaṇḍa) mentions that with the help of the bow of God Śaṅkara, the sea was crossed; its Uttarakhaṇḍa mentions

These differences can be easily explained. The purpose of both the works is different on account of the different faiths they represent.

Dr. W. Ruben holds that Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki depicted Rāma as an ideal Kṣatriya. The ideal was to attain Svarga and for attaining that ideal the help of the Brahmins was not necessary. It is gradually that the whole work has been given a Brahmanical colouring (Vide Bulcke p. 138).

The Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa which based on ancient ballads did not contain Putreṣṭiyajña or Avatāravāda or the meeting of various ṛṣis in the forest and Rāma's promise to annihilate the Rākṣasas.

The contents of the first chapter of Bālakāṇḍa do not refer to Rāma as an Avatāra. Even in the Bālakaṇḍa it was added at the time when it was given a final shape (See Bulcke pp. 124. 130.256).

The contents given in the first chapter of Bālakāṇḍa of VR does not mention Putreṣṭiyajña. Even in the Bālakāṇḍa it is held to be an interpolation (See Bulcke, p. 256). The Rāmopākhyāna, Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Kūrma and Garuḍa Purāṇas also do not refer to it. The Daśaratha Jātaka, and Daśaratha Kathānaṁ also do not mention any wonderful birth of Rāma. It reveals that Putreṣṭi-yajña was introduced in the VR to give it a Brahmanical colouring.

In the VR meeting with Muni Atri, (2.117-118) (See Bulcke, p. 312), the killing of Virāḍha, meeting with Śarabhaṅga, Sutikṣṇa and Agastya (3.1-14), all are interpolated (Bulcke, p.330). They have been introduced to furnish with an account of the period of 12 years' duration in the forest. These portions contain Rāma's promise to uproot the Rākṣasas.

Various Purāṇic stories interpolated in the first and the last kāṇḍa of VR reveal clear Brahmanical influence on the VR and the effort to prove Brahmanical superiority (See Bulcke, p. 143).

Thus we find that the original Rāma-story was devoid of any sectarian taint. It was gradually that the VR was heavily interpolated with sectarian elements to give it a Brahmanical colouring. The same way we find that the Rāma story of the Jātakas is coloured with Buddhism. So naturally the Jains gave it their own religious colour for the purpose of propagating Jainism.

In support of the third aim the following facts are worth notice :

The PCV mentions that Bharata was younger brother of Lakṣmaṇa. It is supported by the Daśaratha Jātaka, Daśaratha Kathānaṁ, Pratimā-nāṭaka, the Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata and the Padmapurāṇa. Even the Gauḍīya version of VR and a verse in the southern version of VR support it (See supra Ch. 3, Sec. 1D).

The PCV mentions that Sītā had a brother. It is supported by the Viṣṇu, Vāyu and the Kālikā Purāṇa. Dr. Bulcke holds that the PCV in this respect preserves a historical element (Bulcke, p. 293). (See supra Ch. 3, Sec. 2 A).

The PCV mentions that Rāma defeated the Anāryas. It is corroborated by the Buddhacarita of Aśvagoṣa. (See supra. Ch. 3, Sec. 3 C).

The PCV mentions that Rāma had more than one wife. Even according to the VR the custom of polygamy was prevalent in the family of Daśaratha. Daśaratha himself had many wives. In the southern version of VR Mantharā tells Kaikeyī that Rāma's wives will live a glorious life when Rāma is made the ruler of Ayodhyā. (2.8.12). It is held by the scholars that this reading is later on changed in other versions of the VR (VRTP. No. 45 and page 33). (See also supra. Ch. 3, Sec. 1, fn. 2).

The PCV mentions that Kaikeyī was granted one boon only. It is supported by the Daśaratha Jātaka, Daśaratha Kathānaṃ, Padmapurāṇa (Gauḍīya version—Uttarakhaṇḍa—vide Bulcke, p. 323). Not only that but even the Rāmopākhyāna of MB. and the first chapter of the Bālakāṇḍa of VR itself (i.e. Ādi Rāmāyaṇa) refer to one boon only and Kaikeyī demands two things on the strength of that single boon (See supra. Ch. 3, Sec. B).

The PCV mentions that Bharata's mother did not demand Rāma's exile. It is supported by the Daśaratha Jātaka and Daśaratha Kathānaṃ (supra. Ch. 3, Sec. 3B).

The PVC mentions that Rāma took a voluntary exile. It is supported by the Anāmakaṃ Jātakaṃ (See supra. ch. 3, Sec. 3B).

The PCV does not mention any definite period of Rāma's exile. It is supported by the Anāmakaṃ Jātakaṃ. Even the Rāmopākhyāna Kaikeyī does not mention definite period of Rāma's exile (MB. 3.277.26). It is at Laṅkā that the spirit of Daśaratha asks Rāma to return to Ayodhyā as the period of fourteen years has completed (MB. 3.291.29) (See supra. Ch. 3, Sec. 3B).

The PCV unlike the VR does not refer to any spying work by Rāvaṇa's men. It is held that even in the VR it is a spurious portion (Bulcke, p. 380).

The severing of the head of imaginary Rāma, the duel between Rāvaṇa and Sugrīva before the commencement of the battle are not mentioned in the PCV. The same is the case with the Rāmopākhyāna. It is held that these two episodes did not form part of the Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa. They are later interpolations (Bulcke, p. 380) (See supra. Ch. 3, Sec. 8A).

In the PCV Rāma is said to have lived for 17000 years while in the VR for 11000 years. But the Daśaratha Jātaka mentions that Rāma lived for 1600 years. Thus the reference in the PCV is to some extent supported by the old tradition (See Supra. Ch. 3, Sec. 9. E. V).

The PCV refers to Hanumanta's wives. In the whole of the VR there is no mention that Hanumanta was married. But at one place it is said that Bharata offered in vain 16 girls to Hanumanta in marriage (VR 6.126.44). Thus the account in the PCV has some traditional basis.

According to the PCV Hanumanta, a Vānara scion was the son-in-law of Sugrīva as well as of Rāvaṇa's sister. The Vānaras and the Rākṣasas formed two branches of the Vidyādhara lineage. In the VR there is no such account but some scattered references in the VR and the Mahābhārata reveal that Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa were finally related (See *Infra*. Vānaras under Ch. 10).

Vimalasūri tells us, as already noted above, that in the popular Rāmāyaṇa Rāma is said to have killed Vāli for the cause of Sugrīva and Tārā. But according to the VR Rāma kills Vāli for the cause of Sugrīva and his wife Rumā who was kidnapped by Vāli. Tārā, the wife of Vāli after the death of her husband voluntarily accepts Sugrīva as her husband. The Rāmopākhyāna and Nṛsiṃha-Purāṇa throw some light on this point of Vimalasūri. In the Rāmopākhyāna (MB. 3.280) Rumā is not mentioned and Tārā is referred to as wife of Vāli. Once Vāli is found to be suspecting the integrity of Tārā when she tries to prevent him from holding a duel with Sugrīva. Though Rāma is informed by Sugrīva that his wife has been kidnapped by Vāli yet after the death of Vāli it is mentioned nowhere that Sugrīva gets back any other woman than Tārā. This episode indicates that either Tārā was formerly the wife of Sugrīva or Sugrīva wanted to make her his own wife and she had sympathy for him. In the Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa (Ch. 50) Tārā clearly appears to be the wife of Sugrīva to whom she is restored from Vāli. These facts go to prove that Vimalasūri's information was based upon some such tradition.

All these points show that a number of differences that the PCV has with the VR are supported traditionally not only by Buddhist works but by Brahmanical works and even by the Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa itself. It proves that Vimalasūri was backed by some tradition and he did not merely bring about changes in the Rāma-story of the inflated Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa.

Jaina as well as Popular Tradition as the Basic Foundation:—

The most important point in the PCV is that Rāvaṇa is killed because of his passion for Sītā.

In the PCV it is depicted that Rāvaṇa brought about his own annihilation on account of kidnapping Sītā. This motto is outlined in the PCV in the ending colophon (18.104-105). In the VR Rāma meets various munis and promises to annihilate the Rākṣasas. In the Bālakāṇḍa it is said that Viṣṇu took birth in the form of Rāma to annihilate Rāvaṇa. But as the authentic story goes, there is neither any indication that Rāma is proceeding with the sole aim of annihilating Rāvaṇa, nor that the Rākṣasas are disturbing the munis and Rāma undertakes to annihilate them. The portions, referring to Rāma as Viṣṇu's incarnation, Rāma's meeting with the munis and his promise to annihilate the Rākṣasas, are all later interpolations. Therefore, only the ignoble act of kidnapping of Rāma's wife by Rāvaṇa causes the annihilation of Rāvaṇa at the hands of Rāma.

Thus the VR in its original form and the PCV as it is, agree as regards this fundamental point of the Rāma-story.

Thus we find that several points of the PCV though somewhat different from the VR are supported by Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa and other old works. It seems that the source of our Paumacariyam's Rāma story was some old tradition, somewhat other than the VR in its present inflated form, for the point is how Vimalasūri knew that the things alleged as unbelievable and the lies found in the popular Rāmāyaṇa, did not form the part of the true Rāma story? There must have been some basis on the ground of that he criticised such elements. And what else that basis could be except the Jaina and popular traditions. The earliest traces of the Jaina tradition about the Rāma-kathānaka are found in the Trilokaprajñapti, Samavāyāṅga and the Sthānāṅga. We have already discussed above in the beginning that the 'series of names' contained in these works were the basis of the Rāma story of Paumacariyam as pointed out by our author. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti though composed after the beginning of Christian era contains many things based on old tradition. The date of Sthānāṅga and Samavāyāṅga fall prior to the beginning of Christian era. They are the third and fourth Aṅga of the canonical literature and are principal works of the Jaina Āgama. Dr. Jacobi speaks of the great age of the Aṅgas and Prof. J. Charpentier trusts it (Uttara Int. p. 25). Dr. Winternitz (HIL vol. II, p. 442) quotes Weber and says that the Samavāyāṅga in its present form is either a late work or that it contains some portions of later date. Prof. J. Charpentier meets the general criticism of Weber. He (Opp. Cit. p. 32) says that in certain cases interpolations are there but the original dates back from the 3rd century B.C. to the beginning of our era. Therefore, we can say that most probably the tradition of Rāma story was present with the Jainas, during the 3rd cent. B.C. a date which coincides with the composition of the Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa by Vālmīki. Dr. Bulcke after examining the arguments of various scholars (See Bulcke p. 37) holds that Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa was composed in c 300 B.C.

Further Dr. Bulcke says that the main story of the whole VR has a historical basis and there should be no doubt about it (See Bulcke p. 113). The Ādi-Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki which contained the main Rāma-story is held to be based on the ancient Gāthās. These Gāthās and the Ākhyāna Kāvya of Rāma-story, says Dr. Bulcke (p. 135), had very presumably originated during the 6th century B.C. The Buddhist Tripiṭaka Gāthās concerning the Rāma-story are also held to be based on the old 'Ākhyānakāvya'. (Bulcke pp. 98. & 134). Brief Rāma-stories found in the Droṇaparva and Śāntiparva of Mahābhārata seem to be based on the same Ākhyāna Kāvya, says Dr. Bulcke (p. 135). He further states that this Gāthā literature of Rām-story originated in the Kośala country and spread towards the west also when the Mahābhārata was composed. He holds that by the time of the 4th century B.C. the Rāma-story (Ākhyāna oṃ

Kāvya) had considerably become popular. Pāli Tripiṭaka was being composed during that period (Bulcke p. 135) and some matter of the Ākhyāna Kāvya of the Rāma-story entered into the Pāli Tripiṭaka also (Bulcke p. 98). Thus we can be sure that Rāma story in its original and basic form had gained popularity in North India by the time of the 4th century B. C. Jainism was also popularising during that period in North India and gradually spreading towards the west and south hence there is every possibility that the basic Rāma-story of the Ākhyāna Kāvya was known to the Jaina tradition. It will be here worthwhile to record the view of Prof. Winternitz about the ancient popular narratives and how they were utilised by different religions of India. He says that it is certain, moreover, that as early as the time of Buddha there was in existence an inexhaustible store of prose and verse narratives, Ākhyānas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Gāthās, forming as it were literary public property which as drawn upon by the Buddhist and the Jainas, as well as by the epic poets (HIL. I. p. 314). In view of this fact the nāmāvalis in Sthānāṅga and Samavāyāṅga indicate that the Rāma-story in its basic form was known to the Jaina-tradition. The 'series of names' formed the nucleus of the Rāma-story and its details remained with the preceptors, in the oral form. These details passed on to the successors by tradition *i.e.* 'āyariya paramparāgayaṁ' as Vimalasūri also mentions in his work at 1.8. To this we can add the Popular Tradition from which Vimalasūri seems to have drawn a lot, as evidenced in the above analysis, to compose his Paumacariyaṁ.

Rāma's name as Padma:—

Now the question arises why Dāśarathī Rāma is called Padma in the Samavāyāṅga as well as in the Paumacariyaṁ when he is not known by this name either in the Brahmanical or in the Buddhist literature. The Samavāyāṅga names Rāma Dāśarathī as Padma and Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma as Rāma while the Tiloyapaṇṇatti names them as Rāma and Padma respectively. Both of them are recognised as the 8th and 9th Baladeva in the Jaina tradition. What is the reason behind naming one of these two Baladevas as Padma? The only plausible explanation seems to be that the similarity in their names might have necessitated to distinguish one from the other and one of them was named Padma. Why this particular name was preferred? We see that Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are regarded as the incarnations of Viṣṇu in the Brahmanical tradition. Viṣṇu is called Padmanābha *i.e.* from his navel sprang the lotus which contained Brahmā, the future creator. As Padmanābha is an epithet of Viṣṇu and Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are incarnations of Viṣṇu, so this epithet has most probably influenced the Jaina tradition in naming either Rāma or Kṛṣṇa as Padma to distinguish between the two Rāmas, Dāśarathī Rāma and Balarāma. In the Hindu Padma-purāṇa (Ādikhaṇḍa. 1.23-24, 2.31-32) it is said that since the universe descended from the great lotus (mahāpadma) which sprang from the navel of Viṣṇu, and the Universe itself is the embodiment of Viṣṇu and there is description of the

same in it so the work is named Padmapurāṇa. This fairly explains the association of the name Padma with Viṣṇu, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

Conclusion

Thus as far as the matter goes we hereby conclude that the Rāma-story of Paumacariyaṇ has its basic foundation on the Jaina tradition preserved in the form of 'series of names' which were aided with oral details that remained with the preceptors who augmented them from time to time by accepting elements of their choice from popular tradition. In this way Vimalasūri seems to have inherited the subject matter of Rāma-story from his predecessors and on that basis he composed Paumacariyaṇ of his own plan and pattern, notwithstanding the fact that the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa too has considerably influenced the details of Paumacariyaṇ and it was quite imperative in view of the great popularity this work *i. e.* the VR had gained by the time of the composition¹ of our Paumacariyaṇ. Therefore, the Rāma-story of PCV is not wholly dependent on the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa.

Abbreviations and Works Referred

Anāmakam Jātakam	= Rāmāyaṇa in China by Dr. Raghuvir.
Bṛhatkathakośa	= Of Hariṣeṇa, Ed. Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Bombay-1943.
Buicke	= Rāma-kathā by Dr. C. Bulcke, Prayag, 1950.
Das Ram	= The Rāmāyaṇa by Dr. S. N. Ghosal, Baroda, 1960 (English Translation of Dr. Jacobi's Das Rāmāyaṇa).
Daśaratha Jātaka	= (Jātaka No. 461 ; Pāli Tipiṭaka).
Daśarathakathānam	= A Chinese Daśaratha Story vide Bulcke, p. 63.
HCLJ	= A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jains by H. R. Kapadia, 1941.
HIL	= A History of Indian Literature by M. Winternitz, Vol. I (1927), Vol. II (1933).
Infra	= See below Supra.
JOI	= Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa	= Published by Gopal Narayana Co., Bombay, 1911.
MB	= Mahābhārata, Chitrasālā Press, Poona, 1929-33.
Padmapurāṇa	= Published from Ānandāśram (1893-94).
PCV	= Paumacariyaṇ of Vimalasūri, Ed. H. Jacobi, 1914.
Supra & Infra	= These references are to the chapter and section of the author's Thesis 'A Critical Study of Paumacariyaṇ.'
Uttara	= Uttarādhyayana, Ed. J. Charpentier, Uppsala, 1922.
VR	= Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1930.
VRTP	= Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa Ke Tīn Pāṭh Bhed by Dr. C. Bulcke (Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Varṣa, 58, Aṅka, 1, Sam. 2010).

¹ For the date of Paumacariyaṇ see my article 'New Light On the Date of Paumacariyaṇ' in JOI, Vol. XIII, No. 4, June, 1964.

THE SOURCES OF HEMACANDRA'S KĀVYĀNUŚĀSANA

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(List of Abbreviations used in this Paper:—

- Abh : Abhinavabhāratī (Gos ed.)
 AVM : Abhidhāvṛttimāṭṛkā
 Dhv : Dhvanyāloka (KSS Banaras, 1940)
 DR : Daśarūpaka (Nirṇaya Sāgar ed., 1941)
 Kavik : Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa of Kṣemendra
 KM : Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1934.
 KP : Kāvya-prakāśa (BORI, Poona 1950)
 KS : Kāvyaṇuśāsana (SMJV ed., Bombay)
 NS : Nāṭyaśāstra (GOS ed.)
 RS : Rucaka : Kāvya-prakāśasaṁketa, ed. by S. P. Bhattacharya.
 SK : Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Nirṇaya Sāgara ed. Bombay, 1934.
 SP : Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Mysore edition, 1955, 1963).
 Śr. Pra. : Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa (1963)—Dr Raghavan.
 VV : Vyaktiviveka of Mahimabhaṭṭa.)

Hemacandra's Kāvyaṇuśāsana is a very fine text-book on Alamkāra-śāstra. It is remarkable for its free use of the illustrious Alamkāra works that preceded it, as well as for its wealth of illustrations. It is admittedly a lucid compendium of the subject of poetics as developed by previous writers, most prominent of them being Bharata, Daṇḍī, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Rājaśekhara (KM), Kuntaka, Abhinavagupta (Abh. and Locana), Dhanañjaya—Dhanika, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Bhoja (SK and SP), Kṣemendra, Mammaṭa and Rucaka or Ruṣya (Saṁketa). The following table would give the reader a very good idea of the principal sources utilized by Hemacandra in the preparation of his Kāvyaṇuśāsana :

Subject	'Kāvyaṇuśāsana'	'Principal Source/Sources'
Kāvya-prayojana	Ch. I (pp. 3-6)	KP I. pp. 6-10; RS p. 1; Locana I pp. 40-41
Kāvya-kāraṇa	(pp 7-33)	
—Pratibhā	—pp. 5-6	KM IV. pp. 12-13
—Vyutpatti	—pp. 7-13	Vāmana. 1-3; KM VIII (pp. 35-41) and Kavik-V. (pp. 17-20)
—Abhyāsa	pp. 13-14	Vāmana 1,3
—Śikṣā	} pp. 14-33	KM-XI-XIV
—Kavisamaya		
—Śabdārtha-haraṇa		

<i>Subject</i>	<i>'Kāvya-nu- śāsana'</i>	<i>'Principal Source/Sources'</i>
Kāvya-svarūpa	pp. 33-42	KP. I. p. 13, p. 263, pp. 462-465, pp. 470-472 Dhv. and Locana pp. 223-234
Śabdārtha-Svarūpa	pp. 42-87 (pp. 47-57)	Dhv. and Locana pp. 74, 78, 137- 139, 167-169, 255-257, 271-276, 351-356 SP. VII (pp. 245-250)
In his Śr. Pra. (p. 708) Dr. Raghavan observes :		
"Not only the Gāthās and Sanskr̥t verses given as illustrations by Bhoja, but Bhoja's comments thereon are also reproduced completely by Hemacandra in his Kāvya-nuśāsana. . . . These six conditions (Abhinaya, Apadeśa, etc.,) and their illustrations are reproduced from the Śr. Pra.		
	pp. 65-66	KP. V. (pp. 223-256)
Rasalakṣaṇa	Ch. II (pp. 88-105) —pp. 88-89 —pp. 89-105	KP. IV—pp. 91-95 Abh.—(Vol. I) pp. 272-287
Rasabhedas	(pp. 106-124)	Abh. (Vol. I) pp. 267, 304, 306-307, 314, 315, 324-326, 328, 329-330, 333-339. Dhv. and Locana pp. 391-394
Sthāyibhāvas	pp. 124-126	NS. VII and Abh. (Vol. I) pp. 282-283
Vyabhicāri-bhāvas	pp. 126-144	NS. VII and SK. (V) and DR. (IV) with Avaloka
Sātvikabhāvas	pp. 144-147	NS. VII and SK. (V)
Rasābhāsa and Bhāvā- bhāsa	pp. 147-150	Abh. (Vol. I) pp. 295-296 ; SK. (V)
Kāvyaabhedas	pp. 150-158	Dhv. and Locana (II) pp. 261, 263-264, 282-283, 495 KP. V vv. 120 etc.
Doṣa-Vivecana	Ch. III (pp. 159- 273)	
—Doṣalakṣaṇa	(pp. 159-161)	CP. Dhv. and Locana (pp. 80- 83) KP. VII. vv. 321, 327, 330
—Rasādi-doṣa	(pp. 161-168)	Dhv. III (pp. 365-401) and KP. VII (pp. 450-460) DR. IV (p. 91) and Avaloka

<i>Subject</i>	<i>'Kāvyaṇu- śāsana'</i>	<i>'Principal Source/Sources'</i>
—Rasadoṣa	(pp. 163-199)	Dhv. III (pp. 361-364) Locana (pp. 342, 344) KP. VII. 60-62 (pp. 433-445) KM. (pp. 42-44), NS XVIII. 98-99
	(pp. 173-176)	
	(pp. 179-198)	KM. XVII & XVIII (pp. 89-112)
—Pada-doṣa	(pp. 199-201)	SK I. 93 VV 126-127 KP. VII. V. 202
—Vākya-doṣa	(pp. 201-226)	Vāmana II. ii, SK. I, VV. II. KP. VII and X.
—Ubhayadoṣa	(pp. 226-261)	Vāmana II. i, Dhv. (II) & Locana VV. II ; KP. VII
Artha-doṣa	(pp. 261-273)	Vāmana. II. ii ; SK I VV. II ; KP. VII

Dr. Raghavan's remarks on Hemacandra's treatment of Doṣas are very apposite: "... Chapter III of Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* is almost identical with chapter VII of Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaaprakāśa*. The number, nature and the illustrations of all the flaws are the same in the two books. In Hemacandra's own commentary on his work, Hemacandra has given additional matter drawn from Ānandavardhana and Mahimabhaṭṭa under the heads of Rasadoṣas, Avirmṣṭa-vidheya and Prakrama and Krama Bhaṅgas. (Sr. Pra. p. 246)

Guṇavivecana	Ch. IV (pp. 274-294)	Mainly based on NS. XVII, KD ; Vāmana ; and KP. (VIII)
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Dr. Raghavan's observations on Hemacandra's treatment of Guṇas are very pertinent: "On Guṇas Hemacandra is a follower of Ānandavardhana and he draws upon Mammaṭa and probably from Rājaśekhara also ... As regards the three Guṇas, Hemacandra considers that Mādhurya is of the highest degree in Vipralambha, a little less in Karuṇa and still less in Śānta. शान्तकृष्णविप्रलम्बेषु सातिशयम् । " This is one of the views recorded later by Jagannātha ... "

Hemacandra's treatment of Guṇas is noteworthy for his "reference to strange views on Guṇas". One view holds that Ojas, Prasāda, Mādhurya, Sāmya and Audārya as the five Guṇas (in the sense of Pāṭha-dharmas). The other view is these five Guṇas belong to certain metres: Hemacandra criticises both.

Subject	'Kāvya-nu- śāsana'	'Principal Source/Sources'
Śabdālamkāra-varṇana	Ch. V (pp. 295-338) —pp. 298-314 —pp. 314-332 —pp. 333-337	Mainly based on the NS. XVII, KD, Rudraṭa, Devīśataka with Kayyāṭa's commentary; SK II and the KP (VIII, X) IX Rudraṭa, Devīśataka, Kayyāṭa's Commentary, KD, Bhāravi Rudraṭa (IV, V) and Devīśataka, Kayyāṭa's Commentary NS XVII & Abh. (Vol. II) (pp. 385-392)
Arthālamkāra-Varṇana	Ch VI (pp. 339-405)	Mainly based on the works of Udbhata, Rudraṭa, Kuntaka, Mammaṭa and to some extent on the SK and Locana
Nāyakādi-Varṇana	Ch VII (pp. 406-431)	Mainly based on the NS XXII and the Abh. (Vol. III) DR (II) and Avaloka and a few verses from SK.
Prabandhātmaka-Kāvyaabheda	Ch VIII (pp. 432-466) —pp. 432-455 —pp. 455-466	Mainly based on the NS XVIII and the Abh. and SP (XI) Kāvya-kautuka, the NS XXIII and Abh. (on NS IV. 268) SP XI (pp. 469-480)

"The treatment of Śravya-Kāvya in the VIIIth Chapter of the Kāvya-nuśāsana... is completely a reproduction of the section on Guṇas and Alamkāras of Prabandha as a whole and the definitions with examples of the types of Śravya-Kāvya given by Bhoja in Chapters XI and XII of the Śr. Pra." (—Dr. Raghavan, Śr. Pra. p. 709). It is not clear why Dr. Raghavan mentions Chapter XII as Hemacandra's source for his treatment of Śravyakāvya. Chapter XII "is devoted to the study of the structure and technique of drama" and has very little to do with Śravya-Kāvya. The reader is referred to Śr. Pra. pp. 403-404 where Dr. Raghavan critically examines and appreciates Hemacandra's treatment of Śravya-Kāvya.

(Hemacandra and Rucaka :

Note : Only a few identical passages are indicated below to prove Hemacandra's indebtedness to Rucaka or Ruyyaka):

Hemacandra	Rucaka
p. 5 (II 1-3)	p. 1
p. 77 (II 11-13, I 22)	p. 31
p. 154 (II 19-23)	p. 40
p. 155 (I 12)	p. 8
p. 178 (I 18)	p. 52
p. 225 (II 27-28)	p. 74
p. 231 (II 6-8, II 16-18)	p. 46
p. 238 (II 22-25)	p. 47
p. 274 (I 7) 275 (I 8)	pp. 204-205
p. 376 (II 9-11)	p. 70
p. 388 (I 20)	p. 69
p. 389 (II 2-6)	p. 63

It is rarely that Hemacandra mentions his sources by name;¹ but on many occasions when he happens to adopt even very long passages in either prose or verse, from his predecessors' works, he does not care to indicate their sources.² A few long passages in the *Viveka*,³ although not found in any of the source-books mentioned above, do not appear, by virtue of their language and style, to be Hemacandra's. In many places we come across the expression 'Vayaṁ tu brūmaḥ'⁴ or similar ones⁵ which lead us to believe that the views prefaced with these expressions are Hemacandra's own, but the fact is that in many cases at least, Hemacandra only repeats his masters' views faithfully in their own words. There are scores and scores of passages, some of them pretty long, common to Someśvara's *Samketa* and Hemacandra's *KS. R. C. Parikh*⁶ holds that Hemacandra borrows these passages from Someśvara. I have shown in my paper published in the *Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat* (1961-62)

¹ For instance, . . . *iti Śrīmanabhinavaguptacaryaḥ* (p. 103).

² In regard to Hemacandra's source, the *KM.*, it is sometimes argued that "The reason of not mentioning the name of Rājaśekhara here might be that, in the view of Hemacandra, Rājaśekhara also might have taken this matter from some other author" (p. CCCXVIII). This argument in defence of Hemacandra, if accepted as valid, would lead to disastrous conclusions. For by this reasoning all those excerpts from Mahimbhaṭṭa, Abhinavagupta, Kayyāṭa and others would have to be considered as not their own—a conclusion which, on the very face of it, is absurd.

³ For instance, P. 125 (l. 24)—156 (II 10-24); pp. 164 (l. 24)—166.

⁴ For example, p. 110 (l. 24), p. 183 (l. 23), p. 217 (l. 23), p. 337 (l. 15).

⁵ To wit: p. 176 (ll. 20-21), p. 178 (l. 14), p. 220 (last line).

⁶ *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (Part II), *Rājasthāna Purāṇa Granthamālā*, No. 47, Jodhpur.

that probably the borrowing is the other way.⁷ In view of the uncertainty of the mutual relation between Hemacandra and Someśvara it will only be right to leave out Someśvara's *Samketa* while considering the present problem. Parikh⁸ and Dhruva⁹ consider Hemacandra's KS to be unique in that it brings for the first time, Poetics and Dramatics within the compass of a single work. The work of Hemacandra, however, is not the first of its kind. Hemacandra takes the lead from Bhoja's SP which treats of both Poetics and Dramatics.¹⁰ The method of noting the sources of the illustrative verses and quotations in the KS adopted by the editor of the SMJV edition, although unexceptionable, is apt to lead one to believe that Hemacandra has drawn them directly from original sources but it is evident that in most cases Hemacandra has drawn them indirectly through the sources utilized by him in writing the KS.

It is clear from what has been said above that Hemacandra's work does not constitute an original contribution to the subject. It is, however, not quite correct to describe the *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* as a compilation exhibiting hardly any originality as Kane¹¹ does or to charge Hemacandra of plagiarism as De¹² does. Instead of briefly summarising or paraphrasing or describing in his own language the theories and doctrines of his predecessors too illustrious to be mentioned by name, if Hemacandra preferred to present them in their original form we need not find fault with him. Besides we cannot forget the fact that his writing was of a scientific nature and in scientific books such quotations are justified. We will only be betraying poverty of our imagination and scant respect for Hemacandra's intelligence if we were to insinuate that Hemacandra pretended that all the passages and excerpts which he quoted would pass as his own. The truth of the matter is that Hemacandra regards the masterpieces of his predecessors as the property of the entire world.¹³ Hemacandra is a man of 'pratibhā' but

⁷ In addition to the arguments set forth in my paper in favour of my thesis the following one may be stated: the treatment of Śravya type of literature in the KS (and Someśvara's *Samketa*) is clearly based on Bhoja's SP (XI. pp. 469-480). The SP, however, does not mention *Sakalakathā*. Since Hemacandra adds its definition and example (the *Samarāditya*—*Samarādityakathā*, a Jaina work) and Someśvara omits this example, it is reasonable to hold that Someśvara borrows not directly from Bhoja but from Hemacandra.

⁸ Introduction to *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (p. CCC XXV)

⁹ Foreword to *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (p. 10)

¹⁰ Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* by V. Raghavan: Detailed Notice of the Contents (Ch. V)

¹¹ History of Sanskrit Poetics (1951 ed.), pp. 288-89.

¹² Studies in the History of Sanskrit poetics Vol. I (P. 203)

¹³ Vide Hemacandra's remarks at the opening of his *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā*; he unambiguously and emphatically states: *Anādaya Evaitā Vidyāḥ Samkṣepa-*

his 'pratibhā' is more of the 'bhāvayitri' and less of the 'Kārayitri' type. His capacity to select choicest excerpts from his authorities and to organize them into a homogeneous and organic whole is supreme. Moreover, Hemacandra shows independence of thought and judgment in good many places, refusing to follow blindly his acknowledged authorities. To wit, he rejects, and on logical grounds too, three of the six Kāvya-prayojanas given by Mammaṭa (pp. 5-6); he differs with Mukula-bhaṭṭa and Mammaṭa for he holds that Lakṣaṇā is based on Prayojana alone and not on Rūḍhi or Prayojana (p. 46). He differs with Mammaṭa (p. 146) as he rejects Ubhayaśaktimūla-dhvani (p. 68). He rightly rejects the threefold classification of 'artha' into *svataḥ sambhavi*, *Kavipraudhoktimātra-niṣpanna-śariraḥ* and *Kavinibaddhavakṛtpraudhoktimātra-niṣpanna-śariraḥ* as found in the Dhv. (pp. 72-73) and the KP. (IV. 39-40). Hemacandra criticises Dhanika for describing Jīmutavahana as Dhirodātta (vide KS P. 123 ll 19-21 and DR II. p. 37). If Mammaṭa speaks of the eight kinds of Madhyama-kāvya, Hemacandra holds that there are only three kinds of it (pp. 152-157). He seems to be hitting at Mammaṭa when he remarks: "Etena nirvedasyāmaṅgalaprāyatte 'pi...tat pratikṣiptam" (p. 121 ll. 9-10). He differs with Mammaṭa when he remarks "Ayaṁ bhāyah—Yathānyaiḥ pratikulavarṇalakṣaṇo Doṣa uktaḥ...tasya (p. 290 ll. 19-20). His treatment of the topic of Guṇas (Ch. IV) is indeed remarkable, for its presentation and style invariably reminds us of Rājaśekhara's KM. Although Hemacandra takes his cue from Kuntaka and his reasoning in reducing the number of Arthālamkāras is not always satisfactory nor convincing, the fact remains that his treatment of this topic is, to a good extent, novel. In a few places we find him compiling passages from different sources skillfully into one organic whole—adding his own remarks in between. In this connection we may point to Viveka pp. 203-4, (l. 13-30) where he combines passages from the Vyaktiviveka and the Vakroktijīva; or Viveka p. 362 (l. 10 to p. 364) where he combines the commentary of the Dhv. and Locana adding his own remarks in between.

It would, therefore, seem that the criticism against Hemacandra's KS is not fair. It would be more correct to describe the KS as a good text-book lucidly setting forth various topics of Alamkāraśāstra in the very words of the masters and serving as a good introduction to the study of the well-known authorities.¹⁴

Vistara-vivakṣayā Navanavibhavanti, tattatkartṛkāśca ucyante". It is interesting to note that even this statement of Hemacandra is based on Jayanta's Nyāyamañjarī (p. 1 and 5)

¹⁴ The reader is referred to Shivaprasad Bliattacharya's Paper "Hemacandra and the Eleventh Century Kashmir Poeticists"—in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII 1957 No. 1

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BUDDHIST GLEANINGS FROM THE RĀJATARANĠINĪ

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The well known chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir called Rājataranḡinī or 'the Stream of Kings', written by the Brāhmin Scholar—poet Kalhaṇa between A.D. 1148-1150, contains numerous historical and important notices concerning Buddhism in Kashmir. A careful perusal of the Rājataranḡinī¹ reveals the following facts bearing on Buddhism.

The earliest reference to Buddhist patronage is in connection with king Surendra who built two Buddhist monasteries or Vihāras, one called Narendrabhavana and the other Saurabha.² Next, King Janaka is said to have erected a Vihāra (I. 98). The virtuous and pious King Aśoka espoused Buddhism (Jina-sāsana) and erected many stūpas in Śuśkalettra and Bitastātra. In Bitastātrapura, he raised a very lofty caitya in the Dharmāranya-Vihāra.³ His son and successor Jalauka was a Śaiva by faith but observed the precept of non-violence towards creatures. He was compassionate and large hearted like a Bodhisattva, but, being a Śaiva, he did not understand the meaning, of the term 'Bodhisattva' (I. 134-135). A Kṛttikā woman explained to him the meaning of a Bodhisattva as one who is free from 'Kleśas'; all those persons who, since the Buddha expounded his teachings in the world, became free from passions (Kleśas), are known as Bodhisattvas. These "Bodhisattvas do not show anger even to the sinners; they forgive evil-doers, and the weal and welfare of the creatures of the whole world is their sole duty."⁴

King Jalauka was a zealous Śaiva and had destroyed many Buddhist monasteries which, however, he was subsequently persuaded to rebuild. He caused to be constructed a monastery called the Kṛtyāśrama-Vihāra.⁵

¹ Rājataranḡinī of Kalhaṇa edited and translated into English by Dr. M. A. Stein, reprint. Delhi, 1961; a literal Hindi translation (often, wrong) along with Sanskrit text of the Rājataranḡinī has been published also by Paṇḍita Puṣtakālaya, Kāśī (Vārāṇasī), 1960.

² Rājataranḡinī, I. 93-94.

³ Ibid., I. 102-103. On Buddhist Monuments erected in Kashmir by the Buddhist Emperor Aśoka, see Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 261-283.

⁴ Ibid., I. 137-139, on Bodhisattva see Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Eng. Transl. by Dr. Conze, p. 7; Bodhicaryāvatāra-Pañjikā, ed. by Dr. Vaidya, p. 200; Dr. Har Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, Chap. I; Dr. Vallee Poussin in E.R.E., Vol. II, p. 739.

⁵ Ibid., I. 140-147.

King Juṣka set up many monasteries in Juṣkapura and Jayasvāmipura; all the three Kuṣāṇa (Turuṣka) Kings, viz., Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka, caused to be built many monasteries and caityas in Śuṣkalettra and other places. During their rule, which came one hundred and fifty years after the Great Decease of Bhagavat Śākyasiṃha, i.e., Buddha,⁶ Kashmir was dominated by Virtuous Buddhist monks bright with the brightness born of their full ordination. At that time Kashmir had become the land of Bodhisattvas, and the illustrious Nāgārjuna was regarded as the lord of Bodhisattvas.⁷ It is noteworthy that Yuan Chwang refers to the Buddhist sages as Bodhisattvas and counts Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghoṣa, Āryadeva and Kumāralabdha among the 'Four Suns' who enlightened the world.⁸

In the time of King Abhimanyu, the Buddhists being protected by the wise Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna, became very powerful all over the country. The Buddhist controversialists (Vādinah) who were opponents of the Veda (āgamadviṣah), defeated all the learned men of other philosophies and uprooted the doctrines expounded in the Nīlamata Purāṇa. Consequently, the Buddhists were persecuted, allegedly by some supernatural agencies; but Kalhaṇa notes that the leading personality in the movement oppressive of the Buddhists was a fanatical Śaiva Brāhmaṇa, Candradeva by name.⁹

During the time of King Kinnara, a Buddhist monk (Śramaṇa) of a monastery in Kinnarapura had, by means of Yogic powers, usurped the King's wife. The king thus enraged, burnt a number of Buddhist Vihāras, and confiscated the villages allotted to these monastic establishments for their up keep.¹⁰ The above material is gleaned from the first book (Prathamastaraṅga) of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. There is nothing bearing on Buddhism in the second book (Dvitiyastaraṅga). Passing on to the third book, we come across a good portrayal of King Meghavāhana and his Buddhist piety. He had been brought from Gandhāra by the people of Kashmir and had married the princess of Pīṅgyotiṣpura named Amṛtaprabhā.¹¹ Most likely this royal couple was Buddhist by faith. King Meghavāhana fully understood the greatness of the Bodhisattvas and excelled them in good conduct and piety. His ministers took special measures to stop the killing of living beings in his realm; and provided better livelihood to professional butchers at the cost of royal treasury. The

⁶ This date of the Kuṣāṇa Kings is obviously wrong and too early.

⁷ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I. 169-173.

⁸ Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 245.

⁹ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I, 177-184.

¹⁰ Ibid., I. 199-200. cf. Dr. N. Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. I, Introduction 'Buddhism in Kashmir'.

¹¹ Ibid., II. 145-148.

king himself was very like Lord Buddha in observing the doctrine of ahimsā, and in his time artificial beasts prepared from wheat flour and ghee were used for sacrificial purposes instead of living beasts. He also bestowed the Meghavāna-Agrahāra on the Brāhmaṇas and established a sacred convent called Meghamāṭha,¹² Meghavāhana's Queen, Amṛtaprabhā, was also a devout patron of Buddhist faith; she set up a large and lofty monastery called Amṛtabhavana-vihāra, for the use of the Buddhist monks of foreign countries. A Buddhist sage, probably a Tāntrika exorcist, named Stonpā, perhaps a native of Ladakh lived in this monastery. He also constructed a stūpa here.¹³ The Amṛtabhavan-vihāra was seen in the eighth century A.D. by a Chinese pilgrim Ou-K'ong (751-790 A.D.).¹⁴

Yūkadevī, another queen of King Meghavāhana, built a great monastery at Naḍavana. One half of this Naḍavana-Vihāra was allotted to the bhikṣus of good conduct and learning while the other half to those who had wives, sons and the cattle. King's third Queen, Indradevī, constructed a four-storeyed Vihāra and a Stūpa. Likewise his other queens Khādanā, Sammā etc., also built several Vihāras named after their respective names.¹⁵ One of these is located at Khādaniya near Vārāhamūla on the Vitastā.¹⁶ King Meghavāhana was sincerely righteous and established the doctrine of non-violence in the territories conquered by him.¹⁷ Kalhaṇa represents him as imitating the Bodhisattva ideal such as, e.g., is illustrated in the Jātaka story of Śibi;¹⁸ he offers his own person for sacrifice to the goddess in order to save the life of a person, and also to ensure the safety of a Śabara's family.¹⁹ Elsewhere the Kashmiri historian states that Meghavāhana may be said to have washed away by his merciful deeds and piety the sins committed by his predecessors such as Mihirakula (who is said to have killed three koṭis of beings).²⁰ Not only the demons

¹² *Ibid.*, III. 4-8. The date of Meghavāhana is not quite certain. He may be placed in cir. 600 A.D.

¹³ *Ibid.*, III. 9-10.

¹⁴ Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. I, p. 36 f.; for the itinerary of Ou-K'ong see S. Lévi in *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, pp. 341-384.

¹⁵ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, III. 11-14.

¹⁶ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, English Transl. by Dr. Stein, Vol. I, p. 74 note.

¹⁷ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, III, 27-29.

¹⁸ See Śibi Jātaka in Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra, ed. by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, pp. 7 ff. and Śivi Jātaka in Khuddaka Nikāya, Vol. III, Part I, ed. by Rev. Bhikṣu J. Kashyap, pp. 311 ff.

¹⁹ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, III. 35-41 vide also *Ibid.*, III. 50-51, and 91.

²⁰ On Mihirakula's atrocities see Yuan Ch'ang, I, pp. 288-289; Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I, 289, 304-307. But Kalhaṇa does not specifically refer to Hūṇa persecution of Buddhism.

(rākṣasas), the habitual flesh eaters, but even the beasts and the birds of the woods became inoffensive and began to observe ahimsā owing to the influence of king Meghavāhana.²¹ Though King Pravarasena was not a Buddhist and no instance of his direct patronage of the faith is recorded in the book, yet he was quite catholic towards its supporters and benefactors. His maternal uncle, named Jayendra, erected a large Buddhist chapel in which he installed a lofty Buddha image (Bṛhadbuddha). Jayendra also built the famous monastery known after his name as Jayendra-vihāra.²² This monastery established is noted by Yuan Chwang who found it a thriving centre of Buddhist culture and spent considerable time in this Vihāra in order to study the Buddhist scriptures.²³ Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta who were ministers of Kashmir in the court of King Yudhiṣṭhira, constructed several Vihāras and Caityas in Kashmir.²⁴ The Skandabhavana-Vihāra built by Skandagupta, is located by Dr. M.A. Stein at Khaṇḍabhavana in Śrinagar.²⁵ Another minister of Yudhiṣṭhira was Vajrendra who founded the village called Bhavaccheda which was decorated by many sacred spots and caityas.²⁶ In the reign of Raṇāditya, one of his Queens, whose name was Amṛtaprabhā, installed a beautiful statue of Buddha in the Vihāra built by the Queen of Meghavāhana. Galuṇa, a minister of king Vikramāditya, caused a Vihāra to be constructed in the name of his wife Ratnāvalī.²⁷

Passing on to the fourth book of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, we find Queen Anaṅgalekhā, wife of king Durlabhavardhana, building a Buddhist monastery called Anaṅgabhavana-Vihāra.²⁸ In the latter half of the 8th century this monastery was seen by Ou-K'ong who refers to it as Ānanda or Anaṅgabhavana.²⁹ King Candrāpīḍa's queen Prakāśādevī erected a monastery named Prakāśikā-Vihāra.³⁰

The most noted monarch of Kashmir, Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa of the Kāra-koṭa house, a contemporary and conqueror of King Yaśovarman of Kanauja, was a great patron of religious faiths. Though he was not a Buddhist but he paid reverence to Buddha along with Śiva and Viṣṇu, just as Emperor Harṣa paid reverence to a Śiva and Sūrya along with Buddha.

²¹ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, III. 57, 76, 81.

²² *Ibid.*, III. 355.

²³ Life of Hiuan-Tsiang, Eng. Transl. by Beal, pp. 69-70; Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 259.

²⁴ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, III. 380.

²⁵ English Translation of Rājatarāṅgiṇī, Vol. I, p. 105 note.

²⁶ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, III. 381.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 464; III. 476.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, IV. 3.

²⁹ Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. I, ed. by Dr. N. Dutt, Introduction, p. 36.

³⁰ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, IV. 79.

Lalitāditya is credited by Kalhaṇa with the erection of a monastery called Kriṣṇārāma-Vihāra; he also built a large Vihāra and a stūpa in Huṣkapura.³¹ He also built the famous Rājavihāra and beautified it with a huge catuḥ-śālā, spacious caityas and gigantic images of Buddha. He caused to be prepared a large and very lofty Buddha image of bronze costing 84,000 'prasthas' of that metal.³² Lalitāditya's vassal, king Kayya of Lāṭa, constructed in Kashmir, the famous Kayya-Vihāra which became the abode of the celebrated Buddhist poet and saint Sarvajñamitra, who, in his piety, was comparable to Buddha.³³

Bhikṣu Sarvajñamitra is known also from the Tibetan sources. According to Tārānātha, he was the son-in-law of the king of Kashmir, and was a devotee of goddess Tārā.³⁴ Another Tibetan authority, the Pag Sam Jon Zaṅ, records that Sarvajñamitra was a Kashmirian by birth and was educated at the University of Nālandā and became the master of sciences.³⁵ Jinarakṣita, a Buddhist Scholar of the Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra, and a commentator of Sarvajñamitra, also says that the latter was a devotee of Tārā, an expert in Tāntrism and was famed for his unbounded liberality.³⁶ He is the author of the Sragdharā-Stotra, the Ekaviṃśati-stotra and the Ārya-Tārā-Nāmaṣṭottara-Śataka-Stotra. All these texts are extant in Sanskrit and have been published.³⁷

Caṅkuṇa, the Chief Minister of King Lalitāditya, a native of Tukhāra, and a Buddhist by faith, built a monastery called Caṅkuṇa-Vihāra and a lofty stūpa and decorated them with several golden images of Buddha. He also displayed his fervent devotion to Buddhism by constructing a Vihāra and a Caitya in another city. Caṅkuṇa's brother-in-law Iśānacandra, who was a royal physician of Lalitāditya, built a large and beautiful monastery for the Buddhist monks.³⁸ We also learn from the Rājataranginī that Caṅkuṇa was an accomplished Tāntrikist and an alchemist besides being a devout Buddhist and able statesman.³⁹ He purchased for two luminous and magical jewels a large and beautiful

³¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 184; IV. 188.

³² *Ibid.*, IV 200, 203.

³³ *Ibid.*, IV. 210.

³⁴ Tārānātha's Chos ḥbyuṅ, German translation by Schiefner, Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 168 ff.

³⁵ Sumpa Khan PO's Pag Sam Jon Zaṅ, ed. S. C. Das, Calcutta, 1908, p. 102.

³⁶ Vide the Sragdharā-Stotra, ed. by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Introduction, p. XXVIII.

³⁷ Edited and translated by de Blonay, Paris, 1895. The Sragdharā-stotra with the Tīkā of Jinarakṣita has also been edited by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Calcutta, 1908.

³⁸ Rājataranginī, IV. 211, 215-216.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, IV. 246 ff.

image of Buddha from the King; the latter *i.e.*, Lalitāditya, had brought that Buddha image from Magadha on an elephant back.⁴⁰ The ideas that king Kuvalayāpiḍa is seen entertaining in a thoughtful moment, appear to reflect Buddhist view of the transitoriness of Existence; ⁴¹ his renunciation of the imperial throne is reminiscent of the mahābhiniṣkramaṇa of Siddhārtha Gautama.⁴²

King Jayāpiḍa was a patron of scholars and men of letters, and his court was graced not only by Kṣīrasvāmī the Grammarian, and Dāmodaragupta the *author* of the Kuṭṭanīmata, but also by the famous Buddhist philosopher and logician Dharmottara.⁴³ Dharmottara belonged to the late 8th and early 9th century A.D. and was the ablest commentator of Dharmakīrti, the towering personality in the galaxy of critical metaphysicians. Dharmottara is known from the Tibetan sources also. Bu-ston and the author of the Blue Annals put him in the lineage of Dharmakīrti.⁴⁴ He is the author of Pramāṇa-viniścaya-ṭīkā, Pramāṇa-parīkṣā, Apoha-siddhi, Paraloka-siddhi and Kṣaṇabhaṅga-Siddhi, all extant in Tibetan only. But his most famous work is the Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā,⁴⁵ an excellent commentary on the Nyāya-bindu of Dharmakīrti. The appearance of Dharmottarācārya in Kashmir was regarded by Jayāpiḍa as the "rise of the sun in the west". King Jayāpiḍa erected a great monastery (Vihāra) and set up three Buddha images in it.⁴⁶

Passing on to the fifth book of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī we find that King Avantivarman is noteworthy for his liberality; he is said to have imitated his predecessor king Meghavāhana in the precept of non-violence (ahiṃsā).⁴⁷ We come across the Jayendra-Vihāra again in this book; when Pārtha, the deposed king, was reduced to poverty and his property was confiscated by Avantivarman, the former took shelter in Jayendra-Vihāra where Buddhist monks (Śramaṇas) provided him with meals etc.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, IV. 259-263.

⁴¹ See on this topic Tattva-Saṃgraha of Śāntarakṣita, Vol. I, (G.O.S No. XXX), Chapter VIII.

⁴² Rājatarāṅgiṇī, IV. 383-387. cp. Lalitavistara, ed. by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, (B.S.T No. 1) Chapter 15 Abhiniṣkramaṇaparivarta.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, IV. 489.

⁴⁴ See Bu-ston's Chos ḥbyuṅ (Obermiller's transl.) Vol. II, p. 256; Blue Annals (Transl. by Dr. Roerich), Vol. I, p. 346.

⁴⁵ Ed. by P. Peterson in Bibliotheca Indica; also ed. by Chandrashekhara Śāstri, Benaras; Eng. transl. by Dr. Stcherbatsky in Buddhist Logic, Vol. I. The Hague (Reprint) 1958.

⁴⁶ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, IV. 507.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 64.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 428.

Coming to the sixth book we meet the son of a State official, under the rule of Saṃgrāmadeva, named Buddha who, however, had no Buddhist leanings.⁴⁹ Skandabhavana-Vihāra, noted above, finds mention again in the time of king Parvagupta, showing that the Buddhist monastery founded by Skandagupta still existed.⁵⁰ The noted Buddhist monastic establishment in Kashmir, *viz.*, Śrī Jayendra-Vihāra, finds mention for the last time in the time of an over libidinous ruler Kṣemagupta. A feudal lord, Saṃgrāma Dāmara had taken shelter in this Vihāra to save his life against the royal soldiers who were persuing him to death. King Kṣemagupta set fire in this Vihāra as a result of which the monastery was reduced to ashes. A large bronze image of Buddha and some half burnt stones were taken away to be used in a temple of Viṣṇu.⁵¹ The King also confiscated 36 villages that had been endowed on the Jayendra-Vihāra by former kings, and gave them up to the Khaśa Chief Simharāja. In return, Kṣemagupta got the daughter of Simharāja in marriage who became the famous queen of Kashmir, Diddā by name.⁵²

Queen Diddā built a beautiful Vihāra for the use of monks of other countries and a high catuṣśālā for the Kashmirians.⁵³

Bhadreśvara, a high state official under King Saṃgrāmarāja is credited with the construction of a monastery.⁵⁴ Although a royal prince of Kashmir who was a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhārā, bore a Buddhist name and was known as Buddharāja, but apparently he had nothing to do with Buddhism except the name.⁵⁵ King Kalaśa, the father of King Harṣadeva is said to have destroyed many Buddha images and Buddhist monasteries in Kashmir.⁵⁶ King Harṣadeva himself who is reputed to have been a scholar and poet and a patron of men of letters, is portrayed by the Kashmiri historian as a great iconoclast. He destroyed many temples and images including Buddhist sacred monuments all over Kashmir. Kanaka, a musician, and Kālaśrī, a Buddhist monk however, got two large images of Buddha spared from Harṣa's destructive measures.⁵⁷ Subsequently, in course of a civil war, the armies of King Harṣa burnt the famous Rājavihāra built by Lalitāditya.⁵⁸

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 126.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, VI, 137.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 171-173.

⁵² *Ibid.*, VI, 175-176.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, VI, 303.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 121.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 263.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, 696.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 1087-1098.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, 1335-1336.

Passing on to the VIIIth and last book of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* we find that a wife of King Uccala, Queen Jayamati, is said to have set up a Vihāra and a Maṭha, while king Uccala also built a Buddhist monastery which however, could not attain to wide fame.⁵⁹ King Sussala repaired the burnt Diddā-Vihāra so thoroughly as to make it afresh.⁶⁰ But in the time of Bhikṣācara and Sussala the Buddhist monastery called Indradevī-bhavana was burnt by fire.⁶¹ After the city had been destroyed by fire, a large image of Buddha almost half burnt, was discovered from the ashes.⁶² Queen Ratnādevī, wife of King Jayasimha, erected a Buddhist monastery which became very famous.⁶³ The King himself built a Buddhist monastic abode (Vihāra) in memory of his departed queen Sussalā.⁶⁴ King Jayasimha also repaired and beautified the ruined Caṅkuṇa-Vihāra and added to it stone edifices, water arrangements and a boundary wall. Thus the Caṅkuṇa-Vihāra became the most excellent and loftiest Vihāra in the city owing chiefly to the patronage of Jayasimha.⁶⁵ One of his ministers, viz., Bhuṭṭa, established the city of Bhuṭṭapura in which he constructed religious convents and Vihāras.⁶⁶ Queen Ratnādevī is said to have built several beautiful monasteries in Jayavana.⁶⁷ At one place Kalhaṇa again reminds us that the Bodhisattva never becomes angry on any body.⁶⁸

The last great king of Kashmir whose history is detailed in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, was Jayasimha whose patronage of Buddhist establishments has been noted above. He also repaired and reoriented the Buddhist monastery called Sullā-Vihāra.⁶⁹ Cīntā, the wife of his general Udaya, constructed a Vihāra on the Vitastā river. It had five large and lofty palaces which were like the five fingers of the hand, that was the Buddha's Law.⁷⁰

"Summary"

There are numerous references of diverse nature to Buddhist names and subjects in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Lord Buddha is referred to 9 times as 'Buddha' III, 355, 464; IV, 200, 203, 210, 211, 507, VII, 1097 and VIII, 1184; twice as

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 246, 248.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, 580.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 1172.

⁶² *Ibid.*, VIII, 1184.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 2402.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, 2410.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII, 2415-2417.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, 2431.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 2439.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, 2474.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 3318.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, 3352-3353.

'Jina', II 7, and IV. 261; once as 'Lokanātha', I. 138, once as 'Bhagavata', I. 138; Once as 'Bhagavata Śākyasiṃha', I. 172; and once as 'Sugata', IV. 259. We also know 'Buddha' as a person's name, VI. 126, and 'Buddharāja' as a prince's name, VII. 263.

There are eight references to 'Bodhisattva' I. 134, 135, 137, 138, 173, 177, II 4 and VIII. 2474. Bodhisattva is also referred to once under the epithet 'Mahāsattva' III. 41. The term 'Bodhi' occurs only, I. 139. The word 'Stūpa' occurs five times in all. I. 102, III 10, IV. 13. IV. 188, and IV 211. The word 'Caitya' occurs seven times in all: I. 103. I. 170, III. 380, III. 381⁴¹, IV. 200, IV. 204 and IV. 215. The term 'Bhikṣu' occurs five times in the sense of a monk, I. 184, I. 186, III. 9, III. 12, IV. 210; the term 'Śramaṇa' occurs thrice, I. 199, V. 428, and VII. 1093. It may be noted that a territorial chieftain, who frequents the pages of the Rājatarāṅgiṇi in the 8th book, is named Bhikṣu or Bhikṣācara. The Buddhist term which is of the most frequent occurrence in this Chronicle is 'Vihāra'. This term occurs in the sense of a Buddhist monastery not less than fifty three times: twelve times in the first book, I. 93, 94, 98, 103, 140, 142, 143, 146, 147, 169, 199 and 200; eight times in the third book, III. 9, 11, 13, 14, 355, 380, 464 and 476; eleven times in the fourth book, IV. 3, 79, 184; 188, 200, 210, 211, 215, 216, 262 and 507; once in the fifth book, V. 428; four times in the sixth book, VI. 137, 171, 175 and 303; four times in the seventh book, VII. 121, 636, 1335 and 1336; and thirteen times in the eighth book, VIII. 246, 248, 580, 1172, 2402, 2410, 2415, 2417, 2431, 2439, 3318, 3352 and 3353.

Among the miscellaneous Buddhist notices in the Rājatarāṅgiṇi we find reference to 'Jinaśāsana', I. 102, Bauddha-vādi-samūha, I. 112, Bauddhabhāṣā, I. 135, Bauddhaiḥ, I. 136, Mahāśākya, I. 141, Bauddhānām, I. 171, Bauddha, I. 177, Bauddha-bādhā, I. 180 and Bauddhāḥ, I. 181. The Buddhist saints mentioned are, Candrācārya (probably Candragomin) I. 176; Nāgārjuna (Probably the great Mādhyamika thinker) I. 173, 177; Stonpā (Probably a Tibetan Lāmā) III. 10; Sarvajñamitra, IV. 210, and Dharmottara, IV. 489.

THE ADHYĀTMA-RĀMĀYAṆA

By

B. H. KAPADIA, Vallabh Vidyanagar

The Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa passes off as an integral part of Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa. It is held in high esteem by many who believe in the Rāmāyaṇa and it is read by them in the month of Caitra on the occasion of the ceremony of the birth of Rāma. It appears not only to have exercised great influence on the great Hindī poet Tulasidāsa (1532-1623) but also on the modern Bhaktas like the Bengal's holy Rāma-Kṛṣṇa (1836-1886) and many others.¹

The date of Adhyātma can be fixed only approximately. The terminus ad quem is given by the commentary of Narottamadāsa, an adherent of the holy Caitanya. The work appears to have been composed at the end of the 16th Century A. D. The Terminus ad quo is uncertain. The Marāṭhī poet Eka-nātha (died in 1608) calls Adhyātma as a modern work.² Therefore, it cannot be very old. P. C. Bagchi makes it clear in his introduction to the edition of the Calcutta Sanskrit Series that Adhyātma 6.13.16 refers to Vṛndāvana as the holy state of Rāma (really Kṛṣṇa). This place which was consigned to long oblivion according to the tradition of the Caitanya school again attained great significance in the last quarter of the 15th Cent. A. D. Thereby, one can think the 15th Cent. A. D. as the time of its composition. The above passage can be a later interpolation since its Kṛṣṇa reverence does not properly suit the entire context. J. N. Farquhar³ gives 13th or 14th Cent. A.D. as the date to our work. He believes, that the present Rāmānandins used the Adhyātma and therefore the originator of their society must have lived in 1400-1470; knew our work, and brought it from the South to the North. Since the adherents of the Rāmānanda were non-brahmins and knew the "Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda" of Rāmānuja, it is possible that the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa was composed only in the later period by Brāhmaṇas who brought the Rāma-cult in their own path and tried to interpret it in the sense of Śaṅkara-cārya's Kevalādvaita. The fascination of the Rāmānandins for the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa may have originated in recent times.

¹ The Gospel of Rāmākṛṣṇa originally recorded in Bengali by M., a disciple of the master, translated by Swami Nikhilananda, Mylapore 1947, pp. 46, 279, 320, 322, 581.

² R. Bhandarkar, "Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor religious Systems", Strassburg 1913, p. 48.

³ J. N. Farquhar, "Outline of the Religious Literature of India," London 1920, pp. 250 and 321.

The assumption, that the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa that lies before us, originated only at the end of 15th Century A.D. does not exclude the two texts Rāmahr̥daya (I.I. 44 (104) ff.) and Rāmagītā (7.5) interwoven in it which are usually found in Mss. and which are specially commented upon at an ancient period and were incorporated in the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa as a supplement.

Our present work is found in many Mss. and is frequently published.⁴ Besides Narottama it is commented upon by Rāmavarman and Gopāla Cakravartin. An English translation by Rai Bahadur Lala Baijanātha appeared from Alhabad in 1913 as an "extra vol." in the Sacred Books of the Hindus edited by Major B. D. Basu.

"Die Philosophischen Lehren des Adhyatma-Rāmāyaṇa" is the first attempt of Glassenapp, 8th May 1918. P. C. Bagchi has treated Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa in the introduction to the critical edition printed in "Calcutta Sanskrit Series" XI, p. 1-78. J. N. Farquhar's "Outline of the Religious Literature of India" (London 1920), M. Winternitz's, "Geschichte der Indien Literature" Leipzig 1908), and Sir George Grierson's article "on The Adbluta Rāmāyaṇa" which has appeared in the "Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies", Vol. IV, pt. i London 1926 are some other works on the subject.

The Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa like the Yogavāsīṣṭha is a philosophical work which teaches that the world is a deception burdened by an eternal holy serene Absolute. Whereas the Yogavāsīṣṭha accepts special and independent viewpoints, the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa tries to combine the doctrine of Śāṅkara Vedānta which had already become widespread in his time with the saving grace of Rāma. As literary works both possess complete different character. The Adhyātma like the Yogavāsīṣṭha is not a supplement of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa but the same is represented in an abridged form and with a new significance. The author used and knew other Rāmāyaṇas. This comes out from 2.4. 77(76). There in a surprising manner, Sītā says to Rāma:—"Many Brāhmaṇas have listened to many Rāmāyaṇas where and why is the reference that Rāma went to the forest with Sītā". We do not know which Rāmāyaṇas were

⁴ (1) With Rāmavarman's com. Lithograph in Ms. form, Bombay 1857, Ganapat Krishnaji's Press, (2) with Rāmavarma's com. ed. by Harimohan Vidyāratna and Kālikīṅkara Vidyāratna, Saṃvat 1928 (1870 A. D.) New Sanskrit Press, (3) with Rāmavarma's com. ed. by Jibananda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1884, Valmiki Press, (4) Bombay Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Śaka 1811 (1859 A.D.), (5) with Rāmavarma's com. Bombay 1916, Śāṅkara Press, (6) with Rāmavarma's com. ed. Gaṅgāviṣṇu Srikr̥ṣṇa Dāsa, Lakṣmīvenkaṭeśvara Press, Śaka 1848 (1926 A.D.), (7) with the com. of R. Narottama and Gopāla Cakravartī, ed. by Nāgendraṇātha Siddhāntaratna (Calcutta Sanskrit Series Nr. XI, 2 vols.), Calcutta 1935 Metropolitan Publishing House.

accessible to the author. That there was a series of works in his time which deviated⁵ from the composition of Vālmiki is a certainty. Besides, it comes out from the observations of the Vaiṣṇavite philosopher Madhva (12th Cent.) when he expressly emphasises that only the "Mūla Rāmāyaṇa" of Vālmiki is authoritative⁶.

The Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa comprises about 4500 verses mostly in Triṣṭubh. It is divided into 65 chapters which are made from the seven books of Vālmiki. Leaving aside the episodes of the great work the total contents of the same are treated in beautiful and easy understandable language. The Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa breaks through its religious character by the usual treatment of language or similar philosophical observations, praise of Rāma and others.

According to Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa the Earth oppressed by Rāvaṇa goes to Brahmā in the form of a cow and this makes Viṣṇu to incarnate himself as Rāma (according to Rāmāyaṇa 1.15 the gods go to Brahmā). Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa 1.3 43 narrates all kinds of sports indulged in by the child Rāma which reminds one of all that of Kṛṣṇa in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. In the first instance, we shall turn to all the deviations from the Rāmāyaṇa and a few stories which are not given in the Rāmāyaṇa. In his previous birth, Daśaratha was Kaśyapa Prajāpati and Kauśalyā was the god-mother Aditi. In view of her true reverence Viṣṇu fulfills her request that in his next birth he will be the son, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna will be incarnations of Śeṣa, Viṣṇu's shell and the discus (Adhyātma. I.4.16 F.). When Rāma had killed the dreadful demoness Tāḍakā (Ra. I.25 f. Tāṭakā) she was transformed into a beautiful Yakṣa-wife who ultimately went to heaven, since as a curse she had become unholy (Adhyā. I.4.26 f.). For violating the chastity of Ahalyā, Indra was cursed to have thousand vulvas (Adhyā. I.5.26 (25) whereas according to Rāma. I.48 he lost the testicle and the gods replaced the testicle of a ram. The conquered Paraśurāma (Rāma. I.75) demanded from Rāma the grace that in all his future existences he may always have fidelity towards Viṣṇu-worshippers (Adh. I.7.42 (35)). Before Rāma's proposed coronation there appeared Nārada, greeted him as the best of the creatures and told him that he should not allow himself to be coronated but should accept banishment since otherwise he cannot kill Rāvaṇa and thereby he can fulfill the duty towards the world (Adhy. 2.1). Mantharā, the hunch-backed servant of Kaikeyī (Rāma. 2.7) according to Adhyātma (2.2.44 (40) and 9.63 (56) allows the Goddess Sarasvatī to enter her person. Vāmadeva, the sane preceptor of Daśaratha (Rāma. I.7; 2.3) consols those grieved at the banishment of Rāma by a long speech in which he explains that

⁵ J. N. Farquhar, "Religious Literature", p. 250.

⁶ H. V. Glassenapp, "Madhvas Philosophie des Visnu-Glaubens" (Bonn-Leipzig 1923), p. 7.

Rāma, Viṣṇu, Sītā may be his Yogamāyā (Adhyā. 2.5.9). Similar account is narrated by Vasiṣṭha to Bharata when he visited Rāma during his period of banishment (Rāma. 2.83), even Kaikeyī knew this (Adhyā. 2.9.42 (39), 55 (50), even Agastya was aware of this (Rāma. 3.12 f.) as he praises Rāma as the world soul (Adhyā. 3.3.18). Mārīca forcibly advised Rāvaṇa to be in alliance with Rāma (Rāma 3.31) and he propounded this so that (Adhyā. 3.6.15) Rāma who is Paramātman must be constantly thought by him and through words like Rājan, Ratna, Ratha etc. he would get the same fruit as they begin with R. A noteworthy deviation from the ancient narrative occurs in Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa 3.7. Here Rāma informs his wife that Rāvaṇa would come to her in the form of a begging monk. She should therefore enter a hut and should only allow her shadow to fall out. She must remain in fire for a year. She is only a shadow—Sītā when she sees the gazelle into which the demon Mārīca has transformed himself (Rāma. 3.42 f.) and who is kidnapped by Rāvaṇa (Rāma. 3.46 f.). Rāvaṇa treats the Shadow-Sītā as his own mother (Adhyā. 3.7.65 (59). The Shadow-Sītā later on jumps into the fire of the pyre and the real Sītā comes out from this (Adhyā. 6.12.74 (66), 13.19 f.).

Thus, this remarkable story of the Shadow-Sītā which occurs in the Adhbutarāmāyaṇa and in the work of Tulasidāsa is apparently fabricated in order to allow the Śakti of Viṣṇu to be captured by the Rākṣasa. According to Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa (5.2.17(13) Rāvaṇa sees in a dream that a small monkey comes to Laṅkā, goes to Sītā and wins her love whereby he vindicates that Rāma has no longing for her. According to Adhyātma (5.3.19(16) Hanumān appears before Sītā in the form of a sparrow and fights with Rāvaṇa(90). After the death of Kumbhakarna (Rāma. 6.67) who according to Adhyātma (R.6.7.57 (53) knew that Rāma is Viṣṇu, there is the appearance of Nārada who glorifies Rāma through a hymn (Adhyātma 6.8.34(29). According to Adhyātma 6.10 Rāvaṇa offers a great Homa (sacrifice) at the advice of Śukra, the teacher of demons, in order to receive invincible weapons. It was however destroyed by the monkeys. The higher significance of the thought of absolution in Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa corresponds to that, according to which, a series of persons go to Heaven after death. Vālmiki there says that they deserved absolution thus viz. Jāṭāyu (Adhyā. 3.8.55), Śabarī (Adhyā. 3.10.40(37), Vālin's wife Tārā [(who becomes a Jīvanāmukta) Adhy. 4.3.36(35)] and Svayamprabḥā (Adhyā. 4.6.84) as well as Guha (Adhyā. 6.16.15(13) in future (Adhyātma. 6.16 15(13). It deserves to be noted, that all the opponents conquered by Rāma attain eternal bliss e.g. Virāḍha (Adhyā. 3.1.44), Mārīca (Adhyātma. 3.7.20), Vālin (Adhyātma 4.2.71), Rāvaṇa (Adhyātma 6.11.78). Thereby, it is established, that even the greatest sinner thinks of god out of anger or fear attains him after death.

Both 7.3.29(25 ff) and 4.1. ff have opposite stories of Saṅatkumara's

advice to Ravana and about Ravana's visit to Śvetadvīpa (cf. H. Jacobi: "Das Rāmāyaṇa", p. 207). The idea that a decisive opponent of god in spite of being set free from the Saṃsāra goes in him or his celestial kingdom is borrowed from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, where this conception occurs very often. (cf. 7.1.22 ff.). According to Adhyātma 6.16 11(13), Rāma grants Hanumān a boon that he having revered him by taking his name will live as a Jīvan-mukta till the end of Kalpa and will be in the Sāyujya condition with him. After the pattern of the Purāṇas, our text points to a two-fold treatment of the framework. The whole is narrated by Sūta who repeats only that much which Śiva had told Īrāvati. How he got this is explained in the first chapter. Once the holy Nārada visited Brahmā and asked him how the living beings in the present evil Kali age can attain the holy. Brahmā answered that the same question is asked by Pārvatī to her husband and he has thereupon recited the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa whose reading etc. like the "Rāmahrdaya" (1.1.44-52) and Rāmagītā (7.5.1-62) contained in it give the highest bliss.

When Rāma visited Vālmīki on the Citrakūṭa he told him (Adhyā. 2.6. 64(61 ff.)) his life story. After that, Vālmīki, although a Brāhmin, who became a Kirāta; had many children from a Śūdra wife and lived by hunting and robbery. When he wanted to plunder seven ṛṣis in a forest, they said to him, as he was guilty of habitual crime on account of the necessity of maintaining his family that he should ask his wife and children if any one of them had a share in the sin committed by him. The sages promised to wait for him. Vālmīki came back with the answer that his family members wanted to participate in the fruits of his robbery but denied to be guilty with him. This was a ground for Vālmīki to have a complete change in his mentality. On the advice of the sages he sat down for concentration and meditated on the syllables "marā" (reversal of Rāma). As he sat for thousand Yugas an ant-hill was built round him. The sages appeared again. Like the Sun coming out from the mist he came out from the ant-hill. The sages greeted as Vālmīki as he was reborn from the ant-hill. Thus, from a sinner he became a very holy man. Śuka, one of the counsellors of Ravana, who is referred to in Rāmāyaṇa 6.20-25 and 7.14 and 32 according to Adhyā. 6.5.5 was formerly a brahmin forest recluse. When he sacrificed to gods the Rākṣasa Vajradanṣṭra (referred to by Rāmāyaṇa 6.8 and 53-54, in many verses called as Vajradanta) plays a hoax on him. Once when the holy Agastya visited him he had gone for bath. The demon took the form of Agastya and said to Śuka that he was hungry and begged of flesh-meal as he had since long not eaten a goat. When the sage sat down to take the meal the demon took the form of Śuka's beautiful wife, served flesh to Agastya and disappeared. Agastya saw this and at once pronounced a curse. When the innocent Śuka explained the position Agastya said that he cannot change the pronounced curse. In the future age, Śuka will be born as a member of the

followers of Rāvaṇa and when Rāma comes Rāvaṇa will clarify to Rāma the true name (Adhyā 6.4.40 (37 ff.)). He will again become a brahmin ascetic and then will be absolved.

When Lakṣmaṇa is pierced through by the lance of Rāvaṇa (Rāma. 6.100, Adhyātma 6.6.8) and when Hanumān wanted to cure him by medicinal plants, Rāvaṇa goes at night to the house of the Rākṣasa Kālanemi and challenges him by disturbing him through māyā that Hanumāna comes to him with medicinal plants. Kālanemi would not do this but advised Rāvaṇa to hand over Sītā and to meditate in the forest over the true nature of Rāma. Since Rāvaṇa would not listen to this and became angry Kālanemi decided to fly to the Himālayas. He took the form of an ascetic and created through the magic power a hermitage. When Hanumān came there in search of the medicinal plants, he greeted him by reverence to Śiva. Hanumān asked for water. Kālanemi allowed the monkey to be led to the lake. He should drink water with his eyes closed. He should then come back to him to learn a mantra, which will show him the medicinal plants. When Hanumān plunged into the lake he was swallowed by a crocodile. But he was successful in tearing open the mouth of the crocodile. The crocodile died. Then in the sky there appeared a celestial woman Dhāmyamālī. She said on account of her sin upto now she stood under the effect of a curse. She was now released through his endeavour and she now goes to the world of Brahman. She explained to the monkey the illusion of Kālanemi. He then killed the Asura after a dreadful fight.⁷

Thus, these are some of the most important deviations that are found in the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa. As is abundantly clear from the very title of the work, the work is full of vedāntic doctrines. Some of the most important teachings of the work are : The religious atmosphere. The Adhyātma is a sort of Vedānta work like the Pañcadaśī but it has worked out an emotional Rāma-bhakti which was proclaimed by Rāmānanda and other teachers of that time. From this stand-point even Jainism, Buddhism remain outside this sphere. Even the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and other philosophical teachings of that period, even Islam which had found good ground would be fully ignored like Christianity and Parsi Zoroastrianism from the pure stand-point of Bhakti cult. The Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa propounds an orthodox stand-point that India is the only country, that Bhāratabhūmi is the Karma bhūmi in which the works are

⁷ If Lal Baijnath, Translation p. 197 and P. C. Bagchi, Introduction p. 73 be accepted that the Adhyātma. VII. 3 which narrates the story about the birth of Vālin and Sugrīva does not occur in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki then this is an error. It occurs in the first song after VII 37 which is pushed aside as unreal. Cf. H. Jacobi "Das Rāmāyaṇa" p. 206,

performed and where absolution is attainable. Rāma is the Absolute and is treated here as the Personal God. Here there is discussion regarding the origin of the world. The Jīvātmā is also treated from the philosophical stand-point. Finally, like the Yogavāsiṣṭha the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa distinguishes between the absolution that is attained when a person is alive and that which one attains after one's death. The Adhyātma propounds that absolution can be attained even by Bhakti. It is of four types : Sālokya, Sāmīpya, Sārṣṭi, and Sāyujya. These are some of the philosophical stand-points that are worked out by the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa.

THE CONCEPT OF SAMYAGDARŚANA IN JAINISM

By

KAMAL CHAND SOGANI, Alwar

The ultimate goal of the spiritual aspirant is the achievement of the perfect state of existence. The ideal is not something situated in a distant land but it consists in the realisation of the transcendental nature of one's own self. It is the self in its veritable, dignified, and ontological nature. We may pose a simple question: how can an innate nature of a thing be remote from it? or how can the original qualities and modifications of a substance exist apart from the substance even for a moment? The answer is that the self has been in a defiled state of existence since beginningless past. Notwithstanding the ideal as the realization of one's own true self the effort for its revival and actualisation is not so attractive as may be expected. Rather the life of flesh is becoming easier than the life of the Spirit. It is overwhelmingly astonishing, but it is a fact and undeniably stares us in the face. This convincingly gives one to understand that there is an intermediatory something which compels one to cling to the creature comforts and earthly pleasures, and offers a great resistance to the realisation of the sublime end. Confronted with this recognition, we cannot deny that there exists a principle known as Avidyā (nescience), Mithyātva (perversity), Ajñāna (ignorance) commonly recognised by all the systems of Indian philosophy, though with different interpretations due to their diverse metaphysical outlooks. Thus the Mithyātva acts as a barricade to the soul's true life. It is at the root of all evils, the seed of the tree of Saṃsāra. It poisons all our activities so as to check the realisation of the Summum Bonum of Life. Moreover, it is responsible for the perversity of knowledge and conduct alike. The whole outlook, knowledge and conduct are vitiated by its operations. So long as Mithyādarśana is operative, all our efforts to witness the sun of self's glory are bound to fail. It is to be rooted out in the interest of rendering its unwholesome functions null and void. In other words, Samyagdarśana (spiritual conversion) is to be attained, which in turn will make knowledge and conduct right and conducive to the attainment of liberation. It is only after the acquisition of Samyaktva (spiritual conversion) that the soul attains the primary qualification for even marching towards emancipation from the wheel of misery. If Mithyātva is at the root of Saṃsāra, Samyaktva is at the root of Mokṣa. It is the beginning of the spiritual pilgrimage, and the foundation of the magnificent edifice of liberation. The Yaśastilaka tells us that it is the prime cause of salvation, just as the foundation is the mainstay of a palace, good luck that of beauty, life that of bodily enjoyment, royal power that of victory, culture that of nobility and

policy that of Government.¹ Rightness in knowledge and conduct is acquired through Samyagdarśana. Thus it forms the root and backbone of what may be called religion in the sense of perpetual contemplation on the intrinsic nature of the transcendental self. The Uttarādhyayana envisages that right knowledge remains unattainable in the absence of right belief, and rightness of conduct is out of question without right knowledge.²

Rightness in Knowledge and Conduct is Possible After Attaining Right Belief or Spiritual Conversion :

A question is apt to be asked: how is rightness in knowledge acquired through rightness in belief? This may be replied by saying that although in common parlance knowledge precedes belief, yet genuinely speaking knowledge becomes the cause of spiritual unfoldment only after right belief is kindled and stirred up. Here the prefix rightness does not possess epistemological significance, but is indicative of spiritual value. Even though the possessor of right belief cognises rope as a snake which is no doubt epistemologically invalid, still his knowledge is announced to be right. On the contrary, the man destitute of right belief even though knows a thing as it is after dispelling doubt, perversity and indefiniteness, he does not deserve to be called spiritually a right knower. Hence epistemological ascertainment has little to do with the rightness of knowledge which originates from spiritual conversion (right belief). In other words, in the context of supermundane experience, right knowledge presupposes right belief. Though they are related as cause and effect, yet they are born simultaneously, just as light comes with the lamp.³ Simultaneous emergence cannot annul their distinctness. Again, right conduct is preceded by right belief and right knowledge. In their absence conduct even of the highest type will ever remain incapable of transcending morality, hence spiritualism will remain shrouded in mystery. The Darśana Pāhuḍa tells us that the right belief engenders right knowledge by virtue of which the virtuous and vicious paths are cogitated, the possessor of right belief in turn blows away vices and adopts Śīla and thereby he enjoys prosperity and emancipation.⁴

But the nature of this resplendent jewel illuminating knowledge and conduct has been construed variously in Jaina scriptures. Its varied nature may be comprehended under the Nīścaya and Vyavahāra points of view. So comprehensive are these spiritual Nayas that they are capable of reconciling the apparently divergent nature of Samyagdarśana enunciated by the different Ācāryas at different times in the history of Jaina thought. We shall now deal with the different views of Samyagdarśana.

¹ Yaś. & IC. P. 248.

² Uttarā. 28/30.

³ Puru. 34.

⁴ Darśana. Pā. 15, 16 ; Mūlā. 903, 904.

Various Views of Samyagdarśana :

Kundakunda in the Darśana Pāhuḍa characterises the nature of Samyagdarśana as the possession of firm belief in the six kinds of Dravyas, the nine Padārthas, the five Astikāyas, and the seven Tattvas.¹ Nemicandrācārya pronounces the belief in the six Dravyas, the five Astikāyas and the nine Padārthas as indicative of Samyagdarśana.² The Mokṣa Pāhuḍa declares the belief in the non-violent Dharma, in the Deva bereft of the eighteen kinds of faults and in the sermons of the omniscient as constitutive of Samyagdarśana.³ Again the Niyamasāra regards the belief in the perfect souls, scriptures and the six Dravyas as determining the nature of Samyagdarśana.⁴ Besides, according to the Mūlācāra and the Uttarādhyayana, the belief in the nine Padārthas expresses the nature of Samyagdarśana.⁵ Vasunandi in his Śrāvākācāra describes the nature of right belief as the true and unshakable conviction in the perfect souls, the scriptures and the seven Tattvas.⁶ Some great Ācāryas like Umāsvāti,⁷ Amṛtandrācārya,⁸ and the author of the Dravya Saṁgraha⁹ unanimously depict Samyagdarśana as the belief in the seven Tattvas. In view of Svāmikārtikeya,¹⁰ in addition to the belief in the nine Padārthas, acquired after ascertaining their nature through the epistemological medium of Pramāṇa and Naya, the person desiring to possess Samyagdarśana must also give credence to the momentous principles of Anekāntavāda and Syādvāda. The apparent diversity does not cease here, but finds expression in the words of an eminent Ācārya, Samantabhadra who acquiesces in proclaiming the nature of Samyagdarśana as the belief in the Āpta, the scriptures and the Guru after eschewing the three kinds of follies¹¹ and the eight kinds of pride¹², and after espousing the eight essentials of right belief.¹³

Thus we have surveyed the nature of right belief as expounded by the Jaina Ācāryas of eminence. They seem to have divergent views at the outset.

¹ Darśana. Pā. 19.

² Gomma. Jī. 560.

³ Mo. Pā. 90.

⁴ Niyama. 5.

⁵ Mūlā. 203 ; Uttarā. 28/14, 15.

⁶ Vasu. Śrāva. 6.

⁷ Tsū. I. 2.

⁸ Puru. 22.

⁹ Dravya. 41.

¹⁰ Kārti. 311, 312.

¹¹ Three follies : Pseudo Deva, Pseudo Guru and Pseudo Scriptures.

¹² Eight kinds of pride : Pride of (1) learning, (2) honour, (3) family, (4) caste, (5) power, (6) opulence, (7) penance and (8) body.

¹³ Ratna. Śrāva. 4.

But we may point out here that all the afore-mentioned characteristics of Samyagdarśana are justifiable from the Vyavahāra point of view.

Belief in the Seven Tattvas as the Central of All the Characteristics Mentioned:

Notwithstanding the validity of all these features of Samyagdarśana from the Vyavahāra point of view, the most salient and central of all these is the belief in the seven Tattvas. This is due to the fact that unflinching conviction in these Tattvas evidently manifests the whole process of the attainment of liberation, which may be understood even by the unsophisticated intellects. Jaina Ācāryas are of opinion that belief in the Āpta, the Guru and the scriptures etc. is valid if it engenders belief in the Tattvas. This implies that sometimes the belief in the Āpta etc. does not produce belief in the Tattvas, hence so much weight and insistence has been laid on the belief in the Seven Tattvas. It may be pointed out here that belief should not be confounded with mere intellectual comprehension and clarity, though intellectual enlightenment may possibly, but not necessarily, lead to the arousal of right belief; it is a sort of mental attitude which brings about a kind of undeviating adhesion to spiritual truth. It is not dogmatic coherence but rational adherence. Traditionalism in the sense of irrationalism is to be denounced, but ratiocinative adherence is to be adopted and accepted. It may be considered that only those who are well equipped mentally are capable of attaining Samyagdarśana, but we may point out here that the attainment of it has little to do with mental equipments. Nor has it any bearing upon the fact of being born as a Jaina. Spiritualism cannot be monopolised. Whenever it extends, it will undoubtedly clasp within its range the belief in the seven Tattvas irrespective of any acquaintance with their names. Their essence is significant, and not their names which may be different. The man possessing Samyagdarśana must recognise his self as his own as well as the causes of his misery, and the means of their elimination. He must recognise passions as his only foes; though he may not know their names, yet he must have the feeling that real happiness requires their extirpation.

Samyagdarśana from the Transcendental View:

If we are driven to earnest reflection and are allowed to evaluate things from the vantage-ground, even the belief in the seven Tattvas or the nine Padārthas misrepresents the nature of Samyagdarśana. The true nature of Samyagdarśana consists in having unflinching faith in the transcendental self. Of the seven Tattvas the self-shining and unevasive principle is the self,¹ and consequently firm conviction in the pristine purity of the self constitutes what is called as Samyagdarśana. Kundakunda's Darśana Pāhuḍa affirms the belief in the true self to be expressive of Nīścaya (real) Samyagdarśana in contradistinction to the belief in the Tattvas as Vyavahāra.² Amṛtacandra in the

¹ Samaya. Comm. Amṛta. 13.

² Darśana. Pā. 20.

commentary on the Samayasāra installs Nīścaya or Śuddhanaya to the status of Samyagdarśana.¹ This is due to the fact that Śuddhanaya consists in recognising the self as unbound and untouched by Karmans and as devoid of the possibility of fusion of the accidental psychical states of attachment, aversion, and the like.² It also regards the self as undifferentiated inspite of the psychic qualities of knowledge, perception, as perdurable and, lastly, as destitute of the distinctions caused by impure modifications of the four grades of existence.³ Thus Samyagdarśana which amounts to spiritual conversion is to be equated with the belief in Śuddhanaya. Hence the two are synonymous. This delineation of Samyagdarśana must not imply the cancellation of the belief in the seven Tattvas, as may be considered, but they should be comprehended and believed from the Pāramārthika point of view, which again points to the belief in the paramount principle of self. To sum up, the self must believe in its true nature which indicates that Samyagdarśana and the true self are identical, the former being the inalienable characteristic of the latter.⁴ Thus the Vyavahāra Samyagdarśana is valid and successful if it gives rise to the Nīścaya Samyagdarśana.

Eight Components of Samyagdarśana From The Empirical Point of View :

Let us now dwell upon the eight components of Samyagdarśana. They may also be called the organs of Samyagdarśana. Just as the different organs constitute the body, similarly these eight organs are the integral constituents of Samyagdarśana. The omission of even one of them will inevitably clip the wings of a man who longs to soar high in the realm of spiritualism with the object of quenching his thirst for undying, unabating and soul-enrapturing happiness. Samantabhadra announces that the pain arising from venom cannot be eliminated by using an incomplete Mantra. Similarly he says that Samyagdarśana with mutilated organs is incapable of undermining the disquietude permeating the empirical existence.⁵ The eight organs⁶ of Samyagdarśana are: (1) Nihśaṅkita, (2) Nihkāṅkṣita, (3) Nirvicikitsā, (4) Amūḍhadṛṣṭi, (5) Upa-ḡūhana, (6) Sthitikaraṇa, (7) Vātsalya and (8) Prabhāvanā. First, he who possesses the Nihśaṅkita Aṅga does not doubt the multiple nature of reality seeking expression from the omniscient Jina.⁷ Besides, he adheres to the principle that kindness to all creatures is Dharma and injury to beings is Adharma.⁸ The nature of this Aṅga must not point to the throttling of the inquisitive

¹ Samaya. Comm. Amṛta. 12.

² Samaya. Comm. Amṛta. 14.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Puru. 22.

⁵ Ratna. Śrāva. 21.

⁶ Cāritra. Pā. 7. ; Uttarā. 28/31.

⁷ Puru. 23.

⁸ Kārti. 414.

nature possessed by man. Doubt is not reprehensible if it aims at the decision of the nature of things. But if pushed contrariwise, it is suicidal. The initial scepticism may lead to final certitude. Where our crippled intellect cannot penetrate the nature of things, belief in them is the best guide, since the Tīrthaṅkara cannot preach with prejudice. But where logic can stretch its wings one should pin one's faith on a thing after following the course of rational thinking, so that dogmatism may not creep in. Because of the unshakable faith in the righteous path the possessor of this Aṅga, eschews the seven kinds * of fear¹ which are ordinarily present in the perverted souls. (1) He is not frightened when the things imparting him physical and mental pleasures part company and when the sorrows and the agonies shake hand. (2) Nor is he perturbed by the fearful thought concerning the life hereafter. Besides, (3 to 7) he has ousted the fear of death, of discomfiture arising from disease, of his safety and lastly of losing his affluence or self-restraint. Secondly, the Nihkāṅkṣita Aṅga implies that the true believer never hankers after the worldly opulence and empyreal pleasures, inasmuch as he is convinced of the fact that these earthly enjoyments are impermanent, fraught with miseries, procreative of sin and evil and are caused by the filth of Karman.² Also he does not cling to onesided views.³ Thirdly, the Aṅga known as Nirvicikitsā signifies that there should be no feeling of disgust at the various bodily conditions caused by disease, hunger, thirst, cold, heat etc., or at the sight of foul excretion. The body is impure by nature but is rendered venerable by the triple jewels of right belief, right knowledge and right conduct. The Nirvicikitsā Aṅga, therefore, consists in declining the scornful attitude in such a dignified body even if it is diseased, unclean etc., and in having devotion for superempirical qualities.⁴ Fourthly, the Amūḍhadṛṣṭi Aṅga (non-stupidity) consists in steering clear of the causes of perversity and in dissociating oneself from the person pursuing wrong path.⁵ According to Svāmikārtikeya he who does not recognise Himsā as Dharma, being overwhelmed by fear, inferiority and greed for profit, is free from stupidity.⁶ Also the Amūḍhadṛṣṭi Aṅga insists upon the abandonment of pseudo-Guru, pseudo-Deva, pseudo-scriptures, pseudo-conduct and false common conceptions.⁷ The fifth Aṅga has two names, (1)

* Seven kinds of fear:

(1) Lokabhaya, (2) Paralokabhaya, (3) Maraṇabhaya, (4) Vedanābhaya, (5) Ākasmikabhaya, (6) Arakṣābhaya, and (7) Aguptibhaya.

¹ Mūlā. 53. ; Bhāvanāviveka. 41, 43 to 51.

² Ratna. Śrāva. 12.

³ Puru. 24.

⁴ Ratna. Śrāva. 13.

⁵ Ibid. 14.

⁶ Kārti. 417.

⁷ Puru. 26.

Upavṛhaṇa and (2) Upagūhana. He who develops in himself spiritual qualities by virtue of contemplating upon pure thoughts is said to practise the Upavṛhaṇa Aṅga.¹ And he who does not lay open his own merits and the demerits of other spiritual pilgrims, but who veils the shortcomings of the spiritual pilgrims so as to save the commonly unpursuable spiritual path from blasphemy, is announced to be practising the Upagūhana Aṅga.² Though the two by denominations are different, the practising of one of them inevitably turns our mind towards the other; i.e. the cultivation of spiritual qualities ipso facto disposes one to put a curtain over the defects of the spiritual initiates. Sixthly, oppressed by the overwhelming intensity of passions like anger, pride, greed and deceit etc. or by other seductive causes, one may be constrained to deviate from the path of righteousness. At such a juncture, to re-establish the aspirant in the path by reminding him of his innate glory and magnificence is called the Sthitikaṛaṇa Aṅga.³ In other words, to strengthen the conviction of those who are faltering in their loyalty to Dharma and also to save oneself from lapses—both these constitute the Sthitikaṛaṇa Aṅga. The seventh Aṅga is Vātsalya which implies⁴ deep affection for spiritual matters, for the integral principle of non-injury, and for those who are spiritual brethren.⁵ Or he who is devoted to the meritorious persons, follows them with great respect, and speaks nobly, is said to have possessed the Vātsalya Aṅga.⁶ Lastly, the Prabhāvanā signifies the imperativeness of glorifying one's own self with the ten Dharmas or the triple resplendent jewels. It also implies the dissemination of the religion propounded by the conqueror of passions through the medium of exceptional charity, austerity, devotion, profound learning and by employing other means best suited to time and place.⁷

Characteristics accompanying the subsistence of Right Belief :

In addition to these eight Aṅgas constitutive of Samyagdarsana, there are certain characteristics which accompany the subsistence of right belief in the being of self. First, there are four characteristics, namely, (1) manifestation of passions in mild forms, (2) turning away from the causes which enhance worldly career, (3) expression of the non-sceptical attitude towards the substances and lastly (4) manifestation of universal compassion. These are respectively called (1) Praśama, (2) Saṁvega, (3) Āstikya and (4) Anukampā.⁸

¹ Puru. 27.

² Kārti. 418.

³ Ratna Śrāva. 16; Puru. 28.

⁴ Kārti. 419.

⁵ Puru. 29; Ratna. Śrāva. 17.

⁶ Kārti. 420.

⁷ Puru. 30; Ratna Śrāva 18; Kārti. 421, 422.

⁸ Rājavā. I. 2/30.

Somadeva observes that just as the virility of a man, which cannot be perceived with the senses, can be ascertained from his relation with women, or the generation of children, or his fortitude in danger, or the execution of his designs, similarly, the existence of the jewel of right faith, although extremely subtle owing to its being the condition of the soul, may be inferred from the qualities of Praśama, Saṁvega, Anukampā and Āstikya.¹ Secondly, there are three other characteristics which are also possessed by the true believer, namely, (1) censuring of one's own sins in one's own mind, (2) divulging one's own weakness of conduct before the Guru, (3) devotion to Arhantas. These are respectively called (1) Nindā, (2) Garhā, and (3) Bhakti. Thirdly, the true believer is exceedingly scrupulous in not allowing the filth of pride to maculate the self, thus striking out the eight kinds of pride namely, pride of (1) learning, (2) honour, (3) family, (4) caste, (5) power, (6) opulence, (7) penance and (8) of body, from his mind and demennour.²

Components of Samyagdarśana from the Superempirical perspective :

Having explained the nature of Samyagdarśana, its integral constituents and its accompanying characteristics from empirical point of view, we now proceed to expound their nature from the superempirical view point, excepting the superempirical nature of Samyagdarśana which has already been dealt with. To begin with the constituent elements of right belief, first, the follower of the Nihśankita Aṅga frees himself from the inroads of doubt regarding the nature of transcendental self and expels the seven kinds of fear from the being of his self.³ He kindles the superempirical choice of fixing himself in the real self by belief. The wise man recognises his own self as the real universe which is enduring and so any other world other than this concerns him not. Hence he thinks that fears relating to this life and future life are childish and false. Besides, in view of the true self the distinctions expressed by the words 'this life' are unfounded and artificial, as also the fear relating to them.⁴ The recognition of self as transcending mundane pleasure and pain, as enduringly existent, as naturally possessing the affluence of Darśana and Jñāna, as living with the real Prāṇa of knowledge which is incapable of parting with it in its life-history, as not capable of giving place to other foreign qualities, dissipates the fear of pain, safety, losing one's belongings, death and of accident respectively.⁵ Such is the adamant belief that it does away with all obstacles, which hamper it. Secondly, he who evinces no yearnings for the fruits of Karman is

¹ Yaś. & IC., P. 255.

² Ratna. Śrāva. 25.

³ Samaya. 288.

⁴ Samaya. Comm. Amṛta. 228.

⁵ Samaya. Comm. Amṛta. 228.

called the author of the Nihkāṅkṣita Aṅga.¹ Thirdly, the Nirvicikitsā Aṅga implies the non-aborrence of the natural qualities of things.² Fourthly, in following the Amūḍhadrṣṭi Aṅga, the self has developed a sort of insight which prevents it from identifying itself with the auspicious and inauspicious psychological states.³ Fifthly, the Upavṛhaṇa Aṅga signifies the development of the spiritual power which ipso facto casts a veil over other pseudo-characteristics of one's own self.⁴ Sixthly, the re-establishment of self in knowledge and conduct constitutes the Sthitikaṛaṇa Aṅga.⁵ Seventhly, the deep affection for the three jewels or for the self is entitled Vātsalya.⁶ Lastly, the Prabhāvanā Aṅga fosters the self to manifest the eternal light in order to dispel the darkness of ignorance.⁷

Characteristics Accompanying Samyagdarśana from the Superempirical perspective :

As regard the characteristics from the superempirical viewpoint, we may say that on account of the seed of wisdom, the wise man acquires unswerving conviction in the true self. Consequently he denies all association with the auspicious and inauspicious activities. He does not consider himself to be their author and thus destroys the foundation of all ignorance. Not only this, but he also remains no longer their enjoyer. Whatever he does or enjoys, all is due to the irresistibility of the force of Karman and his weakness, but internally he does not relish them because he has acquired the taste for something noble and excellent.

Samyagdarśana as Forming the Spiritual Background of Jaina Ethics :

We have endeavoured to explain the nature of Samyagdarśana by frequently describing it to be the unflinching and sturdy belief in the Tattvas which eventually leads us to have the belief in the transcendental nature of self. This naturally creates an impression of its momentousness in the domain of spiritualism. Without Samyagdarśana conduct is incapable of surpassing the province of morality. An ascetic who bases his asceticism on the mere moral concepts cannot be said to be superior to a householder whose interior has been illumined with the light of Samyagdarśana, inasmuch as the former is paving the way to the achievement of empyreal pleasures far away from the blissful state of existence, while the latter's face is turned in the right direction, which will in due course yield whatever is worthy of his inherent nature. The auspicious Bhāvas

¹ Samaya. 230.

² Ibid. 231.

³ Ibid. 232.

⁴ Samaya. and Comm. Amṛta. 233.

⁵ Ibid. 234.

⁶ Ibid. 235.

⁷ Ibid. 236.

are contemplated by the spiritually converted persons as the temporary places of stay, when they find themselves incapable of staying at the pinnacle of truth and realization. These Bhāvas serve as a halting place for them and not as a permanent dwelling. Thus such aspirants absolve themselves even from sub-conscious egoism in performing auspicious activities. On the contrary, those who are only morally converted regard the acquisition of auspicious mental states and performance of auspicious activities as an end in themselves, hence they are bound to endless mundance existence, which shall deprive them of the spiritual bliss, for all time before spiritual conversion.¹ Besides, their profound learning and the austere penances performed by them even for thousands of years or more are spiritually unfruitful in the absence of Samyagdarśana.² Kundakunda undauntedly declares that the wise man even in enjoying the conscious and non-conscious objects by the senses simply sheds off the Karman, and thus avoids fresh bondage. This may at the outset appear paradoxical but it is justifiable, since he undertakes a detached view of things and performs certain actions due to the inefficiency of counteracting the force of Karman. This is not the case with the ignorant man who adds fresh filth of Karman on account of his attachment to things. All this is to emphasize the importance of Samyagdarśana and not to encourage one's indulgence into the life of flesh. Thus we may say that the whole Jaina Ācāra whether of the householder or of the Muni is out and out sterile without having Samyagdarśana as forming its background. In other words, without the assimilation of Samyagdarśana which is nothing but the belief in the superempirical conscious principle, the entire Jaina Ācāra is a labour wholly lost. Thus it is grounded in spiritualism. We can scarce forbear mentioning that Jainism is not merely ethics and metaphysics but spiritualism too which is evidently manifest from the persistent emphasis laid by all the Jaina philosophers without any exception on the veritable achievement of Samyagdarśana before any Ācāra subscribing to the attainment of emancipation is practised and pursued. Thus spiritualism pervades the entire Jaina Ācāra, hence the charge that the Jaina ethics is incapable of transcending morality and does not land us deep into the ordinarily unfathomable ocean of spiritualism gives way.

Bibliography and abbreviations

1. —Bhāvanāviveka by Chainsukhdass (Sadbodha Granthamālā, Jaipur).
2. Cāritra. Pā—Cāritra Pāhuḍa of Kundakunda (Pātani Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Māroṭha under the title 'Aṣṭa Pāhuḍa').
3. Darśana Pā—Darśana Pāhuḍa of Kundakunda (Pātani Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Māroṭha under the title 'Aṣṭa Pāhuḍa').

¹ Panca. Comm. Amṛta. 135, 136.

² Darśana. Pā. 4, 5.

4. Dravya—Dravya Saṁgraha (Sarala Jaina Grantha Bhaṇḍāra, Jabalapura).
5. Kārti—Kārtikeyānuprekṣā (Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā, Bombay).
6. Gomma. Jī—Gommaṣāsāra Jivakāṇḍa (Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā, Bombay).
7. Mo. Pā.—Mokṣa Pāhuḍa of Kundakunda (Pātani Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Māroṭha, under the title ' Aṣṭa Pāhuḍa).
8. Mūlā—Mūlācāra (Anantakīrti Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Bombay).
9. Niyama—Niyamasāra of Kundakunda (Sacred books of the Jainas, Vol IX).
10. Pañcā. Comm. Amṛta.—Pañcāstikāya of Kundakunda along with the Commentary of Amṛtacandra (Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā, Bombay).
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16. Uttarā—Uttarādhyayana (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLV).
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CALTROPS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

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Caltrop is an iron object having many spiked branches. Whichever way it is made to lie on the ground, one of its spikes always projects upwards. It is mainly used in warfare to maim and impede the progress of the cavalry or marching elephants. Considerable number of them thrown on the highway would injure their feet.

A fine specimen of a caltrop, the first one to be found in archaeological excavations in India, was unearthed near the northern gateway flank of the early historical fort at Śiśupālgarh¹ in Orissa. It is assigned to *circa* A.D. 200-350. While describing this object Shri. B. B. Lal has already drawn our attention to a passage from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*² wherein obstacles to impede the progress of the enemy by similar devices are alluded to. This work is dated about 4th century B.C.

Subsequent to this, a pair of caltrops has been recovered from the excavations at Nasik.³ These objects, only one of which is illustrated, are assigned to Period IIA, dated between 300-200 B.C. and we thus get a striking corroboration of the early use of this device as stated in Kauṭilya.

Outside India, caltrops have been recovered from many Roman Military sites in the early centuries of the Christian era⁴ and the idea seems to have been revived even in the First and the Second World Wars between 1914-18 and 1939-45.

The idea of the use of caltrops, though originating from the days of Kauṭilya seems to have been continued for quite a long time is indicated by the specimen at Śiśupālgarh, at least as late as 350 A.D. That the same practice must have continued even for a longer period can now clearly be made from a passage in Kāmandakā's *Nīti-sāra*,⁵ a work generally attributed to about 500 A.D.

¹ *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 91 and 94. Fig. 10, 32.

² *Shamashastry's Text* (Mysore, 1924), pp. 52-53. Translation (Bangalore, 1929), p. 51.

³ Sankalia and Deo, *Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe*, p. 112, Fig. 52 : 15 and Plate XXVI, 8.

⁴ *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 91, 94.

⁵ Ed. *Veṅkaṭeswara Press*, Śaka 1826, p. 187.

While describing the ways of conquering the enemy, this text prescribes that the ground (near the highways) should be covered with thorned branches and by points of nails and having hidden these the surrounding area should be decorated in various ways. In the pointed nails mentioned here we have a clear reference to the use of the caltrop, which therefore seems to have been known in India at least till 500 A.D. The original passage from the *Nīti-sāra* (XVII, 7) runs thus :

कचित् कण्टकशाखामिः कचित् कीलकयोर्मुलैः ।

भूषयेत्परितो भूमिं प्रच्छदप्रवरैरपि ॥

WAS MAHĀRĀNĀ PRATĀPA TO BLAME FOR RESISTING AKABARA?

By

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Mahārānā Pratāpa is sometimes blamed for not having helped the unification of India by recognising Akabara's suzerainty.¹ But the scholars arguing like this should take into consideration the conditions under which the Rājapūtas were required to serve the Mughal Emperor. Were the conditions good enough to be accepted by a self-respecting people? Or were the Rājapūtas to surrender everything, specially their honour, before they could be the pillars of the edifice called the Mughal Empire and by some even the Mughal confederation? Till then the Rājapūtas had played a brilliant role in the history of India. They had fought for its independence; and every Rājapūta ruler to whichever clan he might have belonged regarded other clansmen as members of his own fraternity as it were and treated them with all the consideration which are and should be the privilege of every self-respecting people. Did they have the same or a similar treatment at Akabara's court?

We are prone to idealise Akabara's reign. With only the fulsome *Akabara-nāmā* and other Muslim histories as our guides, we give Akabara more than his due. We disbelieve Tod. But we should not, at least, have any reason to disbelieve the *Dalapat Vilāsa* a Rājasthānī historical chronicle which was written during the reign of Mahārājā Rāi Singh of Bikaner (1571-1611 A.D.) and is to be published shortly by the Śārdūl Rājasthānī Research Institute. It is an account of an eye witness. We find from it that Rāi Singh's cousins were given in marriage to Akabara, and Rāi Singh served Akabara loyally at Jodhapur, Sirohī, Nāgora, various sites in Gujarāta and Siwānā. As far as the material side was concerned, these services, whether of the Bikanera house or others, did not remain unrecognised and unrewarded. But one ought to look to other things also, things which do matter in a rational being's life but refuse to be measured in a material scale.

When Akabara began his *qamargha* hunt in the Bherā-Rohtās-Girjhāka area, many of the Rājapūta Chiefs accompanying the emperor were encamped on the bank of the river Jhelum. On Akabara's reaching there the Rājapūtas hastened to put on their clothes and pay respect to him. One Dānji, however, was a bit late. Akabara whipped him himself. A young Rājapūta prince,

¹ See Dr. R. S. Tripathi's *The rise and fall of the Mughal Empire* (Referred to by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, *Summaries of Papers submitted to the IHC, Aligarh*, 1960, p. 35).

named Prithīdīpa, had been allowed to play on by his maternal uncle. Though surrounded by Rājapūtas, for whose sentiments he should have cared, Akabara ordered the poor uncle to be whipped, and the self-respecting Rājapūta, unable to bear the insult, and expecting neither sympathy nor backing from anyone stabbed himself thrice with his own dagger, thereby infuriating the emperor even further and making him pass an order for having the Rājapūta trampled to death by an elephant. The Rājapūta chiefs looked on helplessly, not even one raising his voice in protest against Akabara's inhuman orders.

When Prince Dalpata Singh of Bīkāner and some of his companions saw Akabara after cremating the Rājapūtas body, they found him shouting. "Let the Hindus consume cows and the Muslims pigs." He took off his turban and had his locks cut off. The Rājapūtas also took off their turbans (and probably followed his example). Akabara's shouting continued, "These Rāthoḍs have royal blood in their veins. But the Sekhāwats are mere Jāṭs." Normally no Rājapūta tolerates such insults. But these wonderful Rājapūtas of Akabara's court, instead of reacting suitably to the occasion, retired sheepishly to their tents, and putting on their bodies the signs of *śaṅkha* and *chakra* prepared themselves for death (an ignoble one of course, because it was for no noble cause and nothing better than the suicide of a hapless victim of destiny). If Akabara did not ultimately have them put to death, it was not on account of Rājapūta valour or martial spirit, but because he could when he desired, put a curb on his own caprices.

Stories of the way Akabara treated Rājapūtas must have reached Mahārāṇa Pratāpa and made him realise the utter ignominy of submitting to Akabara, even in the interests of a so-called confederation. A man does not live by bread alone, though the Mahārāṇa realised the importance of bread too, if we are to believe some of the stories of his wanderings and sufferings in the hills and jungles of Mewāra; and Indians may feel deservedly proud of the fact that Rājasthān had till then a few proud spirits which put freedom and self-respect above the tinsel of material rewards. Rājapūta chivalry lived on after 1556 A.D. not in the persons of rich Rājapūta grandees of the Mughal court, like the Mahārājās Mān Singh and Raī Singh, but the brave fighters like Mahārāṇa Pratāpa and others who inspired by his example yearned to live only in an atmosphere of full freedom, political as well cultural.

A NOTE ON THE AGE OF GOP TEMPLE

By

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The temple at Gop near Jam-Jodhpur in Saurashtra is decidedly the oldest extant architectural example in the region. It is not only architecturally unique as a landmark, but also was the originator of a style which came to be adapted from it and evolved with added adventitious elements into the later temples of Saurashtra of the pre-mediaeval period, culminating in the Trinetrishvar temple at Tarnetar, whereafter the mainland impulses acted on it to develop into the proto-Solanki type as found at Munibava temple near Than.

The Gop temple is undoubtedly a clear arche-type, the variants of which are found at Visavada, Pachtar, Pindara, Bilesvara, etc. and was one of the three arche-types, largely coeval though not closely contemporary, which flourished in Saurashtra in pre-mediaeval times, the other two being represented by the Varāha temple at Kadvar and the temples at Sutrapada, Kinnerkheda, etc. It is quite obvious that, for the period in which it sprang up, Gop temple represented an amalgam of impulses as yet unspelt in that region and was clearly a bold, brave effort to blaze out an individualistic trail for the regional temple style. It is equally apparent that the regional artisans were adepts in stone cutting—the local stone being a soft and easily workable sandstone,—though they were lacking in traditional inheritance of architectural formal concepts or sculptural devices and symbolism. The immediate precedents and inspirations by which they could have been sustained were the rock-cut, mainly Buddhist, architecture under the Kṣatrapa aegis¹ in the region, combined with the brick and wood architectural forms—also largely for Buddhist clergy—much of which latter had been lost to us now due to their comparatively perishable character.

The date of Gop temple has been reckoned by some scholars² as being justifiably of the mid 6th Cent. A.D. This is conditioned by a process of reasoning the salient points of which may be stated as follows:—

The Maitrakas, who broke from the imperial Yoke of the Guptas, would have started the style of Gop.

The idiom of mouldings and featureless main body of the temple used at

¹ As in the Buddhist Caves at *Uparkot*, Junagadh.

² Shah U. P.—Sculptures from Samlaji and Roda, Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, p. 130 (80); also see Dhaky M. A.—The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat—Journal of Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad No. 3, 1961, p. 3.

Gop is a common factor for many early temples in Saurashtra and is not to be seen elsewhere.

By the end of the 8th Cent. A. D., the Maitrakas had been rudely upset by the Arab invasions and the empire had all but broken up in this period of dislocation. The multitude of the early temples evolving from the Gop style and other allied types would have taken an admissible couple of centuries.

The above approach is seemingly persuasive. However, architectural development and devolution in a hinterland like Saurashtra being what it is, we are tempted to postulate a date later to the one assigned above, approximately by a century or less, to Gop temple and would thus place it in the 1st half of the 7th Cent. A. D. This had been briefly indicated, inter-alia, by the writer already elsewhere.³ In the assessment of the later date for Gop, as suggested by the writer, the significant aspects that have been considered may be briefly enumerated.

In the middle of the 6th Cent. A. D. even in the prosperous and intensely art-conscious centres of the Indian mainland, temple styles in structural stone architecture were verily in their formative stages. The temple at Deogarh, the temples at Bhumara, Nachna, in Central India, the temples of Ladkhan and Kontigudi at Aiholi in the Deccan Chalukyan region, and the so-called Brahman temple at Mandore in the Pratihara zone of Marwar were the finite expressions of these incipient architectural modes upto C. 600-750 A.D., all of which used large blocks of stone, simplified though emphatic mouldings of the plinth and cornices, and an essentially sculptural richness to balance off the architectural plainness. The Kshatrapa period did not certainly produce or even seek to experiment on any stone structural shrine for Buddhist ritual, much less for Brahmanical gods. The references that we do get even of the early Gupta period of the Governorship of Saurashtra from Girnar only indicate that brick temples—as the one said to have been constructed by Cakrapalita for Vishnu as Cakrabharti—would have been in vogue, and certainly they could not have had any finite architectural garb. The very nature of the coup-d'etat by the Senapati Bhaskara to proclaim his local independence, if not sovereignty did not exactly provide the ideal circumstances in which any fillip could have been afforded to fundamental, creative architectural essayings. Even if initiated on the extant Gupta model, they would not have produced the forms depicted by the Gop temple. Indeed, it is apparent that the early Maitrakas were keen on appeasing the people, particularly the Brahmin caste who apparently held great influence in the time of Gupta Governorship—as indicated by the clear majority of the upwards of the eighty copper plate grants and endowments to Brahmanas in

³ Soundara Rajan K. V.—Architectural affiliations of Early Saurashtra temples—Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. XXXVII, March 1961, No. 1, p. 2.

different villages by Maitraka kings, out of proportion to their regional royal status and immediate programs. Numerically, the copper plates compared favourably with those of even the Guptas, and thus the impression created is that the Maitrakas were distributing largess and conferring patronage on the brāhmins, apparently with the purpose of getting due recognition of their basically upstart character and military might. Even of these, a sizeable number of these grants of villages and lands pertain to Mastaka-Vapra—Āharani⁴ sub-division in which Valabhi the Capital was situated. Only from the end of the 6th Cent. onwards, we have more diversified grants on the eastern side of Mahī river in mainland Gujarat. No doubt the Maitrakas were Śivaite devotees to start with and had the couchant bull as their royal emblem, and later because a considerable power in Western India with their influence and boundaries constantly overlapping on the Malwa region claimed by the Imperial pratihāras of Kannauj. The fact remains, however, that they were keen on owing their fealty to the Imperial Guptas whom Dharasena I (500-579 .DA.) calls 'paramaswāmi', on the one hand, for some time for sheer power balance, and to Harṣavardhana of Kannauj later at the time of Dhruvasena Bālāditya from 628-36 A.D. Bālāditya even had marital alliance with Harṣa, by marrying his daughter, and at that stage, in the late 6th Cent.—early 7th Cent. A.D. Maitraka patronised actively Buddhist religion, as shown by the reference to numerous Vihāras at Valabhi in the time of Śilāditya Dharmāditya, although even earlier Dhruvasena I (519-48 A.D.) granted a village to a monastery founded by his sister's daughter Duddā; and his nephew Guhasena (553-569 A.D.) gave four villages to the same monastery and mentions eighteen schools of Hinayāna sects flourishing in the Vihāras at Valabhi. It is important to note that only from Dharasena IV (643-650 A.D.) Maitrakas appear to have become sovereign, on their own account, and that of all their grants, only one could be specifically stated as a grant to a Śiva temple, which was in the time of King Śilāditya-I Dharmāditya and refers to the donation of land to Mahādeva shrine erected by one Harinātha and situated in Balavarmanaka-Vaṭapadra in 609 A.D.⁵ It is also to be seen that specific donation to Buddhist Vihāras were about 20% of the total number of land grants and these were mostly located inside Saurashtra proper especially at or around Vala-

⁴ By which apparently Valabhi area was itself known to the early classical geographers of the west, as signified by the term *Astacapra* in the *Periplus* for the coastal zone after Barake and before Barygaza; although *Astacapra* latterly taken to mean only the present village Hathab, which is less distinctive as an ancient site than Valabhi—the modern village of Vala.

⁵ The fact that in the same year, we hear of another grant to some brahmins who had migrated to Valabhi from Dasapura and settled there shows that Dasapura (Mandasor which was first in Gupta-Pratihara hands) always had easy liaison with Valabhi.

bhi.⁶ Thus a balance was sought to be achieved by massive royal patronage to Buddhists and selective and discretionary donations to Brāhmaṇas in the Maitraka realm.

The rather a typical style of Gop temple which is a combination of a quadrantal *śikhara* mouldings embellished by prominent *śukanāśas* or *nāśikās* on the four sides and by a plain vertical cella structure wherein the rafter-holes of wood architecture have been ossified as a structural feature, and where the whole unit was raised upon a high platform, carefully and elaborately embellished by heavy mouldings, panel work dealing with *Bhūtagaṇas* and niches for sculptured figures, and provision for circumambulation, would show that it was not the sudden outcome of local impulse, but rather the deliberate assemblage of all known architectural features of the period as received in Saurashtra, in a composite form by the local Maitraka craftsmen. Except for quadrantal mouldings of the *śikhara* tiers, there is nothing that could be termed as original in it. The quadrantal shape of the roof may be taken to have been derived perhaps from slopy roofed houses in contemporary villages of Maitraka kingdom. On the other hand, as the temple style took route further, it slowly transformed into a variant of the northern mode of *śikhara* except for the emphasis of the quadrantal mouldings and slabs, whether on the *Vimāna*, or the *śukanāśa* or on the front *maṇḍapa*. Thus, architecturally, it saw the impacts of contemporary forms in the mainland areas in Gupta-Pratihāra-Cālukya regions and subverted it in a local *melange* of structures wherein the slopy roof or mouldings of the 'phansana' type as described by Dhaky,⁷ found a favoured stone-cutters device. This was just a variant of the roll-moulding and had no fundamental significance.

That it could not be much earlier than the early mid-7th Cent. A.D. appears to be further supported by the fact that a single line record (presumably a label) found in one of the large slabs lying now in the cella chamber at Gop temple and which originally formed one of the door jambs of the shrine is in *Siddhamāṭṛkā* script which, particularly in its evolved tripartite form of 'ya,' is datable to the early mid-7th Cent. A.D. especially in Western India. The record under reference contains only about 6 or 7 letters and would tentatively be readable as

⁶ Although undoubtedly Valabhi, the capital, was a seat of learning to which Brahmins also went from far of places, it was clearly a prime seat of Buddhist learning on a par with Nalanda and we may rely on I-Tsing's when he states that "instructed by their teachers and instructing others the students pass two or three years, generally in the Nalanda Monastery in Central India or in the Courts of Valabhi (Valā) in Western India.

⁷ Dhaky, M.A., *op. cit.*

⁸ This is apparently a proper name, possibly a prince. It seems to have a Prakritic flavour.

Ras(?) da ya (m) ghaya bhra(?) Srī...., and is analogous to the inscription of the time of the Dungarpur plates (654 A.D.) of Bhāvihuta⁹ and the record of Mahārāja Paḍḍa from Kalyanpur.¹⁰

In an indirect manner, this approximate date for Gop temple is again supported by the copper-plate grants of, the Senāpati of Maitraka Mahārāja Simhāditya, by name Varāhadāsa I of the Gārulaka clan, who is said to have defeated a ruler of Dwaraka which was at that time (c. 600 A.D.) the capital of the west coast of Saurashtra. If this is to be depended upon, we may take that the monuments at Pindara, the earliest one of which is largely of the same class as Gop, though in a much more evolved form and rather more similar to Bilesvara or Visavada, could not have been constructed much earlier than C. 600 A.D. and possibly some time after that, and hence the first half of the 7th Cent. A.D. for the inception of the *mileau* comprising Gop, Visavada, Pachtar, Bilesvar, Pindara, etc. would seem to be legitimate.

The age of Gop temple can also be fixed by working backwards from the latest manifestation of the Maitrakas idioms in Saurashtra, as at Than. The Than Jain temple is most likely to be datable to the end of the 8th Cent. A.D. If this be so, we may have about hundred years wherein, the Gop Visavada style, the Kadvar form and the Sutrapada form would have reached some maturity. As we know, the Kadvar form did not find further evolution and thus was essentially an experimentation after the Calukyan type of Aiholi-Ladkhan temple. It could not be, besides, earlier than the mid-7th Cent. A.D. The Sutrapada style which itself had the close circumambulatory around cella preserved, found variations at Visavada, Kinnerkheda, etc. and later-evolved into one of the Pindara temples (which has a full front porch and Trinity in Yajña sculpture on the lintel of the Cella), which in all probability was a precursor to a regular two-unit temple as at Tarnetar, although its distance from the prime-focle of mainland impulses precluded its developing into greater charm. However, this Pindara temple is certainly not datable to earlier than early mid-9th Cent. A.D. and hence was a definitive stage in the 'phansana' roof typed *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. Between this and Gop we may have to place the developments as noted at Visavada, Pachtar, Bilesvar, etc. all of which, it could be confidently asserted, represented a conservative trend in temple evolution, a desire to hang on to a form which could not compete either in its grace or its proportions to the Miani Śiva temples (at the entrance to the village) or the Roda shrines. The lingering character of the temple shape and the monotonously repetitive nature of the roof of the above shrine groups would show that that style spread itself in different parts of Western Saurashtra rather

⁹ Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXX ff. 1 ff.

¹⁰ Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXXV, part II, p. 56 and pl. I.

sluggishly, and required strong mainland impulses to shake them from their torpor and induce them to efforts like the Trinetesvar temple, Tarnetar. Hence there is nothing unreasonable in their being assigned a time span of 150 years as between C. 625 A.D. to the end of the 8th Century A.D. Thus the chronological scheme may be etched out tentatively as follows :—

Gop Temple—early 7th Cent. A.D.

Pachter, Bilesvar, Pindara (Gop type)—Mid 7th Cent. A.D. to early—8th Cent. A.D.

Visavada (Gop type)—late 7th Cent. A.D.

Kadvar Temple—mid-7th Cent. A.D.

Sutrapada—last quarter of the 7th Cent. A.D.

Visavada (Sutrapāda type)—early of 8th Cent. A.D.

Kinnerkheda (Sutrapada type)—early of 8th Cent. or even a little later.

Pindara—full unit with quadrantal roof slabs—mid of 9th Cent. A.D.

Than Temple (small)—C. 800 A.D.

It should be noted that the finish of the śikhara, Roda (end of 8th Cent. A.D.), Wadhwan (C. 900 A.D.), Tarnetar (c. 925 A.D.), is nowhere found in the Saurashtra shrines of the typical Maitraka complex, in spite of the intrusion of these developed *nāgara śikhara*s, as deep and far as Miani (late 8th century A.D.), and thus the Maitraka *śikhara*s in the heart of Saurashtra homeland remained throughout, coarse, empirical and circumscribed in the formal evolution which was an index of the stubborn individuality of the Maitrakas politically and their lack of tradition, alike in lineage as in art-patronage. At the same time, wherever the Maitraka or later craftsmen had direct impact with or access to prevalent 'Nāgara' modes in the vicinity, and this largely happened in the areas adjacent to Mahi-Sābarmati valleys as also north Gujarat proper rather than at interior Saurashtra, they had evolved, by resultant fusion, a more satisfying formal unit, as at Roda. Wadhwan, Tarnetar and Than group which are relatively later.

As we know, the final overthrow of the Gupta hegemony in the north took place between 550-570 A.D. and saw Isānavarman on the imperial throne of the new capital of Madhyadesha at Kannauja. The Valabhi kings also reacted to this historic process and since the time of Guhasena onwards, drop all references to Gupta overlordship in their inscription. Further, we have also to note that from the time of Śilāditya (ascension 606 A.D.), the whole conventional genealogy of the Maitrakas undergoes a transformation wherein only Guhasena, as descended from Bhaṭārka, is the first-mentioned king. This would simply that in the early part of the 7th Cent. A.D., the Maitrakas—for the first time—shed all their upstart-complex and gained sufficient confidence as to lay down their genealogy tree on a firm, impressive footing. Adding to this, in the fifth decade of the 7th Cent. A.D., Dharaśena IV proclaimed as *Cakravartī*. May

we not assume that it is this era, rather than any of the earlier phases of the Maitraka rule, that should signify an all-round consolidation of the gains of rule in their kingdom and the sprouting of a regional architectural mileau?

Further, if we are to accept Majumdar's persuasive suggestion, the end of the Valabhi kingdom was caused by Pratihāra kings and not by Arab attacked solely, and feudatory Cāpa or Cālukyan families started ruling the erstwhile kingdom of Valabhi. This would fit in well with the further purposeful trends that we see in architectural evolution, after the end of the Maitraka rule in Saurashtra and north Gujarat, wherein the typical architectural devices of the Maitrakas, namely, quadrantal mouldings¹¹ whether in the *śukanāsas*, on *sabhā-maṇḍapa* roofs or the *karṇatilakas*, in developed forms, were integrated with the evolving *Nāgara* temple style of the Gupta-Pratihāra-Cāpa-Cālukya amalgam, giving rise to temples like the full-unit found at pindara, Haricandrani-Cori at Samlāji, Rānak-Devi temple at Wadhwan, etc., leading to the Trinetresvara temple at Tarnetar. In all these the use of the Maitraka devices and mannerism in a matrix which is basically extra-Maitraka geographically and culturally, though intrusive in Saurashtra, would clearly proclaim the place that has been earned for the individualistic idioms of the Maitraka craftsmen in the architectural heritage of the region.

Thus, we seem to be led, by all circumstantial, formal and evolutionary evidence to take the inception of the Maitraka temple constructions—and with it inextricably the creation of the Gop temple—to the early mid-7th Cent. A.D. at the very apogee of Maitraka power.

¹¹ It would be highly educative also to scrutinise in this connection two instances of the so called Gop type of *śikhara* both in diminutive size as well as in quite a large size, at Osian in a set of two small temples close to the road side at the entrance to the village, and on the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* roof of the large Jain temple in the village containing Vatsarāja's inscription respectively (See Pl. I). These temples have such genetic correspondence with the prototypes of the Gop type of *śikhara* that if the date of the latter which is of an earlier shape is taken as the norm was known in Osia at least by the second half of the 8th Cent. A.D. Its distance from the heart of the Maitraka kingdom in Saurashtra, as well as its age could be convincingly tallied only by assuming that it was a persuasion of cultural traits from Gop to Osia, and by allotting not more than a century to this process.

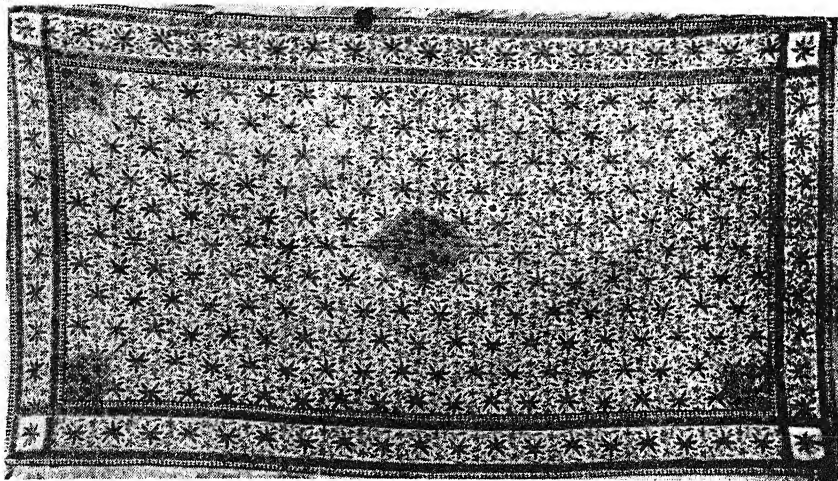


Fig. 1

Cotton Kalamkari curtain, hand painted in dye colours depicting the delicate foliage and creeper designs in blue and green colours. Like the Deccani paintings the designs are drawn with great accuracy and sharpness of line with medallion design in the centre.

Late 17th century A.D.

Provenance probably Palakollu

(Collection of the Salar Jung Museum)

By courtesy of the Salar Jung Museum.

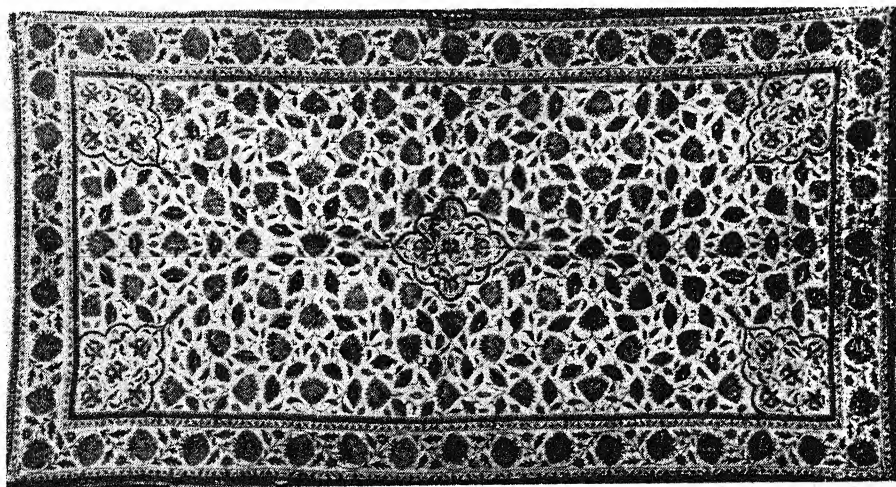


Fig. 2

Cotton Kalamkari curtain: Hand painted in dye colours representing foliage designs in madder red, green and blue colours with medallion design in the centre.

17th century A.D.

Provenance probably Palakollu East Godavari District, A.P.

(Collection of the Salar Jung Museum)

By courtesy of the Salar Jung Museum.



Fig. 3
Kalamkari Temple hanging representing Viṣṇu lying on Śeṣa
(Central portion)
Kalahasti, Chittoor Dt Early 19th century A.D.

KALAMKARI ART OF ANDHRA PRADESH

By

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Andhra Pradesh played a predominant role in the production of beautiful textiles in varied designs and techniques which attracted the attention of the World art lovers. Masulipatam was one of the remarkable and magnificent commercial centres exporting beautiful prints named as "Masulipatam prints" to the foreign countries such as Persia, Turkey etc. These prints had been manufactured at various places of Andhra Pradesh. The important centres of them were Masulipatam in Krishna district, Palakollu (Fig. 1 & 2) in Godavari district, Kalabasti, Madanapalli and Tirupati in Chittoor district, Tummalamadugu and Caddapah in Caddapah district, Kakinada in East Godavari district etc. In some of these centres the exquisite craftsmanship is still being continued but in a decadent form and efforts have been recently made to revive the craft through Handicrafts Board of Andhra Pradesh.

Even though various schools of art have been intensively studied from the last few years, the folk art in the state specially Kalamkari art of Andhra Pradesh has not been received due attention of the art students and art historians. The murals and frescos of Vijayanagara period are discovered at Hampi, Lepakshi etc. and the art of the later Vijayanagara period is still shrouded in darkness. Until and unless a thorough study and research has been made on Kalamkari temple hangings of Andhra Pradesh and late Deccani paintings a continuous sequence of Artistic achievements of Andhra Pradesh can not be reconstructed. I shall discuss in the following the technique and importance of Kalamkari prints in the history of art. As far as we know, Palakollu, Kakidana and Masulipatam were the earliest centres which were flourishing at the time of Bahamani and Vijayanagara kingdoms. Probably, it latter extended to the other centres. The most important were Kalahasti, Madanapalli and the products of these places show much influence of Tamilnad.

The textiles of Andhra Pradesh reflect the aesthetic tastes, aspirations and likings of the people of the land whose customs, manner and dress were influenced by the various immigrants who came from the different parts of the world. Whenever a new movement of culture took place in Central Asia, Northern India was invaded and its repercussions were felt in South India. Especially Andhra Pradesh was an amalgam of various traits which were harmoniously assimilated. The textile designs, mode of dressing and techniques reflect such manifold impacts which were transmitted from one generation to another. Even though for some time there was a refusal to permit outside in-

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fluences but in the long run unconsciously or consciously they were assimilated. The individuality of the region was represented through their patterns and forms, motifs of rare elegance and sophistication originated with startling clarity directly from the weaving and printing techniques.

Temples acted as the best sources of inspiration for the creation of new designs, new techniques which were highly representative of the aesthetic tastes and beliefs of the people of the age. Large number of craft schools of weaving came into existence around the temple complex, like some metal workers who were producing the deities in metal, the weavers were expressing their ingenious workmanship through the medium of cotton. The wall and roof spaces were covered with the textile panels hung over representing vividly the epic subjects such as Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata etc., depending upon the nature of the deity being worshipped in order to arise the concentration of the devotee and educate them in the religious matters, depicting the benevolent or destructive qualities of the Gods. The talents of Andhra artists were well represented in the temple cloths which were manufactured at Palakollu, Kalahasti (Fig. 3) etc. These temple cloths might be the later developments of the fresco and mural tradition. After the down fall of the Vijayanagara empire, we do not come across the mural and fresco paintings in Andhra Pradesh. Afterwards the Deccani painting showed a considerable influence of Vijayanagara school of art. The still existing lacuna had been filled up by the weaver who also must be an artist by supplying number of temple cloth panels to the temples to hang them upon the walls instead of painting directly on the walls. It may be said that the Kalamkari art of Andhra Pradesh may be the decadent art style that was handed over from one generation to another from the Vijayanagara period. They were not only hung in the inner shrines of the temples but also utilised in the festivals to decorate the wooden cars or Rathas in which the Utsavadevatas were carried in processions.

These kalamkaris had been done in resist-dyeing process. Many of the high class kalamkari temple hangings of Andhra Pradesh, had been hand painted with a brush and, however, block painting also existant. The painting was done with a brush which was composed of a series of light soft steel wires fastened brush-like at the extremity of a pencil. Bees-wax was heated in a vessel and when melted to the required extent it becomes the ink that was used with the kalama. The outlines of the designs on cloth would be done in pencil or chalk and the details were drawn with kalama dipped in hot wax. The fabric having been previously mordanted and in some cases dyed a pale pink colour seems to possess a special absorptive power over the hot wax; at all events it penetrates or was drawn through hand through the textile. The wax goes away when washed with hot water, leaving a light coloured drawing which gives the complete outlines of the designs. Then the desired portions which were not to be coloured

were coated with ordinary bees-wax melted to certain extent the remainder dyed in red, thus leaving certain patches in white. The wax was removed and the red parts next coated all over with wax and once more the specks to be kept white were also spotted in wax. The fabric was again painted or dyed in another stronger colour with repetition of the above process till all the desired colours at desired places were painted. Generally, beginning would be made with lightest colours. By repeatedly applying wax removing wax and colouring, the process was repeated one or more times according to the design and variety of colours. For the important Kalamkaris such as temple hangings, most of the work had been done with brush from the process of applying wax till the colouring of the figures. The floral, creeper designed borders might be done in block printing. Masulipatam Chintzs might be printed with blocks.

There were textiles which were specially made for the Indians for the day to day usage and some for the religious purposes. There were also other varieties of prints manufactured for the export to the foreign countries such as Persia, Turkey etc. They reflect the tastes and desires of the Persians and therefore, the Persian motifs such as "Persian tree of life" with birds and other animals and turang designs were adopted into Indian traditional designs by the Indian craftsman. They were mainly meant for the export for which Masulipatam was one of the flourishing centres from the time of the Bahāmani Sultans till a century back. Like other earlier foreign influences, the influence of Persia in decorative arts of Masulipatam and other adjoining centres is highly perceptible.

Occasionally, the kalamkari temple hangings possess inscriptions in Telugu language, narrating the subject in association of epic scenes, pictorially represented. The style of writing and the development of Telugu alphabet appears to be a little earlier than what the piece really belonged because the inscriptions were written by the common craftsman who was not fully aware of the development of the language which was in vogue in the Royal court. These inscriptions were written with soft feathered brush dipped in hot wax as I have already described. The language and style also provide us a glimpse of the style of writing in that period.

The Kalamkari temple hangings consist of scenes of epic stories where the human figures and vegetation are beautifully delineated. The main characteristic features of these paintings are their vigour and boldness. They recall the styles of the Gujarāti illustrated manuscripts and also very akin to the Paīṭhan folk paintings which were collected by Raja Kelkar now in the Raja Kelkar Museum Poona. The delineation of line is generally thick and little attention is given to modelling of the figures. The figures are stylised into short prominent features and have typical expressions. Almost all the figures are represented

in profile. Many colours have been used such as red, yellow, blue, indigo etc. The vivid depiction of the scenes with appropriate vegetation is noteworthy. The animals and their movements are gracefully depicted. The jewellery, ornaments and dress worn by the figures through sufficient light on the variety of ornaments and the colourful dress, the people of Andhra Pradesh used to wear hundred or two hundred years back. The figures are represented in curvilinear features, the facial expressions and gestures of the hands are highly suggestive.

Conclusion :—Shri Tavernier who travelled India in the early 17th century says “ Chintzes or painted calicuts, which they call calmender (kalamkari) that is to say done with a pencil are made in the kingdom of Golconda and particularly about Masulipatam. These Chintzes serve for coverlets for beds, for sofas, or table cloths, after the country fashion, pillow covers, handkerchiefs but more specially for waist-coats, as well for the men and women in Persia ” (page 260, Indian art at Delhi by Sir George Watt). In 1903 Sir George Watt had written that “ Masulipatam has for centuries enjoyed the reputation of producing exceptionally fine cotton Chintzes. The trade in these has almost disappeared though if specially ordered these wax-dyed fabrics can be produced ”. The above references reveal that in the 16th and 17th centuries Masulipatam was one of the important centres which was exporting textiles to the foreign countries such as Persia, West Indies etc. But by the time of the beginning of the 19th century the trade was almost extinct leaving only traces of its glory. Therefore, the Government of Andhra Pradesh may give adequate encouragement to the weaver families of the State to revive the old traditions.

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ABHINAVA BHĀRATĪ—TEXT RESTORED

By

V. RAGHAVAN, Madras

I have been going through the restorations of corrupt passages in the *Abhinavabhāratī* in this Journal, offered by Sri V. M. Kulkarni. Apart from the reconstructions done by me in my *Number of Rasas*, and in two instalments of Corrections and Emendations in recent Numbers of the *Adyar Library Bulletin* both of which Sri Kulkarni refers to, I have presented restored texts of portions of the *Abhinavabhāratī* on Rasa in my *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* (1945, *New Indian Antiquary*, Extra Series) and on other topics of drama etc. (see the 1963 fuller publication of *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*). I am drawing attention to these, as Sri Kulkarni does not seem to have seen them. His correction no. 35 in the latest issue of this Journal (XIV. i. p. 33)—अस्थाधितास्य सूच्यते was given by me in the 1945 publication of *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*.

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REVIEWS

Sources of Indian History: By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, published by the Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964; pages 113; price Rs. 12.00.

The booklet under review embodies the text of three lectures delivered by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri under the Heras Memorial Fund on the last three days of November 1961 at the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay. The subjects of the lectures are—(1) Sources of Indian History with special reference to South India (pp. 1-49), (2) South India about 1300 A.D. (pp. 50-77), and (3) South India from the fourteenth century (pp. 78-106). The last few pages of the book contain bibliography (p. 107), errata (p. 108) and index (pp. 109-113).

The name of the booklet gave us the impression that Prof. Sastri's lectures would contain an analysis of the various sources of Indian history and an evaluation of the importance of each one of the categories. But, in reality, the learned lecturer has mostly discussed modern writings on the sources. Thus, in the sections on Vedic literature (pp. 20-21) and epigraphy and numismatics (pp. 23-24), some modern works on the subjects have been mentioned, and little is said as to how Vedic and epigraphical literature and coins have helped us in reconstructing the lost history of ancient India. Under Vedic literature, *e.g.*, after mentioning some works like the *History of Indian Literature* by Winternitz, *Vedic Index* by Macdonell and Kieth, etc., Prof. Sastri says, "There are many others, but at every stage my aim would be to provide a few guiding hints to best studies, by no means a complete bibliography" (p. 20). The reader would have been benefitted if this nature of the lectures would have been indicated in the Preface.

The lectures are readable, though they appear to have been prepared in a hurry so that some inaccuracies and errors have escaped Prof. Sastri's notice. We may refer to a few of them here.

Page 4—"in 1862 he (Cunningham) was appointed to the new post of Archaeological Surveyor....Cunningham worked with single-heartedness until his retirement in 1885". But Cunningham was Archaeological Surveyor from December 1861 to the end of 1865 and Director General of Archaeological Survey of India from the 1st January, 1871 to the 30th September, 1885.

Page 7—The discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization has "carried back the ancient history of India by nearly three thousand years before the age of the Rigveda." But elsewhere the provisional date of the Indus Valley Civil-

ization is given as "from about 2500 B. C. to 1500 B. C. or a little earlier" and that of the *R̥gveda* "round about 1200 B. C." (p. 18).

Page 23—"The language of the [epigraphic] records is generally Prakrit or Sanskrit in the North, and usually Sanskrit or/and a Dravidian language in the South." But South India has offered us numerous Prakrit epigraphs. —The correct name of D. R. Bhandarkar's work is not "*List of North Indian Brāhmī Inscriptions* after A. D. 400" but "A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its derivative Scripts, from about 200 A. C." —Burgess should probably have not been mentioned as a great epigraphist.

Pages 23-24—The Erragudi edicts of Aśoka did not remain unpublished till the end of November 1961 when the lectures were delivered, but had been edited before that in Part I (January 1957) of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII.

Page 24—"And there is good reason to think that coins proper began to be made in India under the influence of foreign example." But no foreign influence has been traced on the earliest Indian coins, *viz.* the punch-marked. —Cunningham is not known to have been the author of any book entitled *Indian Coins*.

Page 26—Reference to "the Lakṣmaṇa era [of] A. D. 1119 of Bengal which was (sic), however, nothing to do with King Lakṣmana Sena (sic)" contains several errors, the most serious of them being that it is not "of Bengal" but of Mithilā. —For "the Cālukya Vikrama era (A. D. 1075)," we expected "the Cālukya Vikrama era (A. D. 1076)".

Page 28—*Rāmacarita* has been wrongly written as *Rāmapālacarita*.

We hope that the next edition of the booklet will be free from defects, so that it will be of greater use to the student of Indian history.

D. C. SIRCAR

Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab by DR. BUDDHA PRAKASH; published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, etc., 1964; pages 276; price Rs. 15=00.

The book under review discusses the following topics in six chapters—Chapter I: Geography and Strategy (pp. 1-7, six sections), Chapter II: The Era of Aryan Invasions (pp. 8-73, eleven sections), Chapter III: The Fusion of Indo Aryan tribes in the Vedic Age (pp. 74-84, eight sections), Chapter IV: The fall of the Kurus and the Genesis of the *Mahābhārata* (pp. 85-134, twenty-nine sections), Chapter V: The Era of Foreign Invasions and Imperial Movements (pp. 135-216), and Chapter VI: The Social Revolution in Ancient Panjab (pp. 217-61, three sections). There is an Index (pp. 263-76), but no *errata*, even though there are many misprints.

The subject matter of the present work is extremely interesting, and the author impresses us with his wide reading and mastery of details. But the author's approach to the problems discussed is generally too 'original,' and the whole work bristles with innumerable theories, most of which, we are afraid, may not find general acceptance among scholars.

Many of the learned author's theories are based on philological conjectures; cf. *Madra* > *Malla* = Greek *Malloi* > *Mālava* (p. 111); *Bhadra* > *Bhalla* > *Palla* = *Pahlava* (p. 112); etc. On similar grounds, he has tried to show that the five Pāṇḍava brothers represent five foreign tribes settled in India, viz. Ārjunāyana, Vṛka, Yaudheya and two Madra clans (p. 115). Thus the Pāṇḍava hero Bhīma *alias* Vṛkodara is regarded as the symbol the Vṛka people who are supposed to be associated with Hyrcania near the Caspian Sea because the land was called Vṛkāna, Vehrkāna, etc., and with the Śakas because the designation *Vakanapati* occurs in a Kuṣāṇa inscription (pp. 100 ff.), and further with the Virk section of the Jāts of the Panjab and the Verka railway station between Amritsar and Pathankot (p. 102). But what we fail to understand is that, if Vṛka was a well-known tribal name in India, which was represented by Bhīma-Vṛkodara, why should Bhīma be called *Vṛkodara* and not *Vṛka*. In any case, our suspicion is that anything can be proved on the shaky basis of such philological conjectures.

There are many other suggestions in the book, which we find difficult to accept. It is said that, according to a statement of Strabo, the Śakas occupied Bactria in the 7th century B.C., and, according to Dr. Buddha Prakashī, they must have then advanced towards Eastern India and fought with Bāhu and Sagara of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā (p. 120). Then it is said that Eurasian nomads like the Yantiyā, Scythian, Kāmboja, etc., entered Iran, Afghanistan and India in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., and the advent of the Pāṇḍavas representing five clans of the said tribes reflects this foreign invasion of the 9th century when Parīkṣit flourished (p. 126). Next we are told that the advent of the Pañcālas into India resulted from the movement of Tribes invading Mesopotamia and India in the 17th century B.C. and that, after the settlement of the Pañcālas in the Ganges Valley, the Kurus came from Central Asia and occupied the land of the Puru-Bhāratas (p. 128). The author also says that, in the great battle of Kurukṣetra, the traditional struggle between the Kurus and the Śrījāyas figuring in the Pañcāla confederacy 'was reinforced by the terrible onslaught of the Scytho-Iranian tribes included in the Pāṇḍava conception' (pp. 130-131).

We are sorry to feel rather confused. If the Śakas invaded Bactria in the 7th century B.C., how could have they fought with Bāhu and Sagara who, on epic and Purāṇic authority, flourished at least a millennium earlier? Moreover,

according to the Purāṇic evidence on which Dr. Buddha Prakash relies, the Śakas fought with Bāhu and Sagara in the company of the Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas, Palāvas and others. There can hardly be any doubt that this Purāṇic legend was fabricated long after the rule of the Indo-Greeks or Yavanas in North-Western Bhāratavarṣa in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Then again, if the Pañcālas and Kurus, who fought in the battle of Kurukṣetra, settled in India in the 17th century B.C., how could Parikṣit, who ruled immediately after the battle, flourish so late as the 9th century B.C.? We are diffident to accept the thesis that the *Mahābhārata* is a record of the Scytho-Iranian invasion of India in the 9th century B.C. (p. 126).

Besides a large number of theories of the above type, there are some cases, which appear to us to be errors. Dr. Buddha Prakash says that the Kabul, Swat, Indus, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Beas are called 'the seven mouths of the Indus' in the Meharauli pillar inscription (p. 43). But the confluents of a river should not be confused with its mouths. The names of the seven mouths of the Indus are given in Ptolemy's *Geography* as Sagapa, Sinthon, Khrysoun, Kariphron, Sapara, Sabalaessa and Lonibare. Elsewhere we have, "Kauṭilya prescribed a fine for a person who slanders or villifies Gandhāra. No richer encomium could possibly be paid to the Indus region in ancient times" (pp. 82-83). But the language of Kauṭilya clearly suggests that an inhabitant of the Gandhāra country was usually the subject of contemptuous remarks. Dr. Buddha Prakash says that H. C. Raychaudhuri identifies Ptolemy's Pandouoi with the Ārjunāyanas, but that the identification may not be correct (p. 115). But Raychaudhuri merely said that 'the Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas.....may have been connected with the Pandouoi or Pāṇḍava tribe'. These are, however, minor errors which the learned author can easily remove from the next edition of the book.

D. C. SIRCAR

Non-Rgvedic Mantras in the Marriage Ceremonies by DR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI, with a foreword by PROF. LOUIS RENOU. Published under the auspices of the Travancore Devaswom Board, Trivandrum, 1958. Price Rs. 20/-. Pages VII+338.

Kalpasūtras comprising *Śrauta*, *Gṛhya* and *Dharma* sūtras prescribe *mantras* to be used in every ritual. There are two ways of prescribing the *mantras*:— (1) by citing only the *pratīka* of the *mantra* and (2) by quoting the whole text of the *mantra*. *Mantras* taken directly from the *Samhitā* or the *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Śākhā* to which the *sūtra* belongs are cited by *pratīkas* as they are well-known to the followers of that *śākhā*. *Mantras* borrowed from the *Samhitās* or the *Brāhmaṇas* of other *śākhās* or schools are, however, quoted in full in the *sūtras*, for they are quite unfamiliar to the followers of the *śākhā* to which the

sūtra belongs. The authors of the *Kalpasūtras* never venture to tamper with the text of the sacred *mantras* faithfully borrowed from the recensions known to them. In the extant *Kalpasūtras* the number of such *mantras* i.e. those quoted by *pralīkas* as well as those quoted fully is very big.

The Vedic literature existed in its fully developed form in not less than 1131 recensions of the four *Vedas* at the time of the compilation of the *Kalpasūtras*. All the recensions are enumerated in the *caranavyūha*, *Purāṇas* etc. and referred to by *Patañjali* (in his *Paspaśāhnikā*) and others. They were known to *Śabaraswāmī* also. With the advent of Buddhism and other anti-vedic religions in India, the Vedic religion and its literature began gradually to vanish for want of fervent followers and defenders with the result that out of some 1131 recensions of all the four *Vedas* only about a dozen recensions have survived for the critical study of the *mantras* which were borrowed by the authors of the *Kalpasūtras* at such a time when the whole Vedic literature was available to them. This historical fact is absolutely lost sight of by all scholars—western as well as eastern—who have taken themselves to a critical study of the ' *Śrauta mantras* '.

Because of this extinction of such a vast Vedic literature the original sources of the *mantras* which could not be traced in full to the existing Vedic literature, are completely lost to us. Consequently, attempts for tracing them have lost their value and are, so to say, futile. A critical study of all the *mantras* utilized in the *Kalpasūtras*, is, however, a long-felt desideratum. No one has, hitherto, ventured to undertake the task.

The work under review represents a critical study only of the non-Rgvedic *mantras* in the marriage ceremonies detailed in the extant *Gṛhyasūtras*. The scope of the present work is thus very limited. However, the treatment of the subject is most systematic and sufficiently thorough. The author has treated the *mantras* in their ceremonial order. Having given their English translation also he has made a comparative study with parallel quotations along with their variants. Under the respective *mantras* he has also given their original sources traced in full, and has treated them all in a separate chapter (VI). There are, however, numerous *mantras* which could not be traced in full because of the unimaginable loss of the vast Vedic literature. The author, being absolutely ignorant of this fact, has made a futile attempt to ascertain the exact sources of the *mantras* and discussed unnecessarily the principles for determining their sources. If all the recensions available to the authors of the *Kalpasūtras* had come down to us, the sources of the *mantras* would have been very easily traced with the help of the indexes without feeling any necessity of formulating principles to fix the exact sources thereof. Thus, the first ten introductory chapters require a thorough revision in the light of the above fact.

The author's study of the non-Ṛgvedic *mantras* in the marriage ceremonies is based upon reference books such as the available concordances, indices etc., and not on the original texts of the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* available at present. Naturally, therefore, he could not trace some of the *mantras* though available in full in the existing Vedic literature. One example already discussed by the author on page 7 under the 'Śākhā' principle' will be sufficient to prove this.

The *mantra* 'anādhṛṣṭamasi' etc. (No. 12) quoted in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta* (5.8.2) and *Grhya* (1.6.5) *sūtras* is borrowed ad verbatim—from the *Kāṇva Samhitā* of the *Śukla Yajurveda* (5.6). The author's discussion on this *mantra*, naturally, loses its value. He failed to trace this exact source as he could not get it in the Concordances and indexes utilized by him. Bloomfield's 'A Vedic Concordance' and the *Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra* edited by Dr. S. R. Sehgal have unfortunately failed to note this source. The author will have to include this *mantra* in his list of *Grhya mantras* traced in full (ch. VI, page 41).

In the same way, the source of the formula or *Yajus* "Ko vaḥ praṇayati" is different from that of "Ko vaḥ praṇayati sa vaḥ praṇayatu" (page 5). The authors of the *sūtras* never adapted the *mantras* by introducing textual variants in them, as the author thinks (page 13). On the contrary they very faithfully borrowed them from the sources known to them but unfortunately now lost to us. The *mantra* "Sugannu pañhām" etc. quoted by *Pāraskara* cannot be said to be his own adaptation. He has borrowed it from a text now lost (page 81).

These drawbacks apart, the author has presented here the description of the non-Ṛgvedic *mantras* in the marriage ceremonies with great care and dexterity. The 'General Index', 'Index of mantras' and the Bibliography with abbreviations are all useful for ready reference. It would have been more facilitating had the Bibliography been arranged alphabetically.

J. S. PADE

India of Vedic Kalpasūtras: DR. RAM GOPAL, M.A., PH.D., Reader in Sanskrit, Punjab University, Chandigarh, National Publishing House, 96, Daryaganj, Delhi. Pages XVI+504. 1959. Price: Rs. 35-00.

The author has very creditably attempted in this work to present a complete and comprehensive picture of ancient Indian life as depicted especially in the *Grhyasūtras* and the *Dharmasūtras* available at present. But the *Kalpasūtras* comprise not only *Dharma* and *Grhya* but *Śrauta sūtras* also. A thorough treatment of the *Śrauta sūtras* is, therefore, naturally expected in the present work. It is, however, completely neglected. At least four chapters—one on the *Śrauta sūtras* and three on the daily, periodical and special sacrifices prescribed in them were quite essential for the justification of the title. But even that much is not

done. The author has, however, profusely utilised the *Śrauta sūtras* for the subject treated by him in the present work. A mere glance at the list of 'Abbreviations' and "Notes and References" may corroborate the fact.

The work is divided into 22 chapters dealing with (1) The *Kalpasūtras*, (2) The *Gṛhyasūtras*, (3) The *Dharmasūtras*, (4) The age of the *Sūtras*, (5) Geographical Background, (6) Social Organization, (7) Economic Life, (8) Every day life, (9) The system of Government, (10) Law and Justice, (11) Marriage Laws and Customs, (12) Marriage Rites and Festivities, (13) *Samśkāras* for maternity and child welfare, (14) Educational *Samśkāras*, (15) The System of Education, (16) Funeral Rites and *Śrāddhas* (17) Daily Sacrifices, (18) Periodical Sacrifices, (19) Special Sacrifices, (20) Family life and Position of Women, (21) Moral and Manners, and (22) Religion and Philosophy.

All the important statements made in these chapters have been adequately supported with relevant references from the original sources. In the Notes and References given at the end of each chapter the author has quoted the actual text of important references only. All other references have been noted without quoting the text. All readers cannot be expected to have all the reference books at hand. For ease of reference, it is, desirable to give the text of all the quotations along with their references that one may have a clear idea about the text and the conclusions drawn therefrom.

The conclusions drawn by the author in this work are, with a few exceptions, based on a deep and critical study of the original sources, e.g. the author has very conclusively proved in chapter V that both *Āpastamba* and *Baudhāyana* belonged to the *Madhyadeśa* or *Āryāvarta* and not to the South or *Āndhra*. Some of his statements are, however, controversial and demand reconsideration. Only a few of them are discussed below.

Pages 33-34: The Author observes :—

"*Śāṅkhāyana's* description of this (*Vṛṣotsarga*) ceremony seems to be original, for the *Mantras* employed therein belong to the *Rgveda*. So Prof. Oldenberg observes, "There can thus be no doubt that *Pāraskara* here borrowed from a *sūtra* text belonging to the *Rgveda* a *Pratīka* which when referred to the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* results in nonsense".

A deep and critical study of the *Gṛhyasūtras* of *Śāṅkhāyana* and *Pāraskara* will clearly show that *Śāṅkhāyana* has copied out the *Vṛṣotsarga* from the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* with certain modifications suitable to his school.

(1) Of the *Mantras* prescribed for the *Vṛṣotsarga* ceremony by *Śāṅkhāyana* all do not belong to *Rgveda*. Two mantras quoted fully are : 1. इह रतिः etc. and 2. एतं युवानं पतिम् etc. They belong to the *माध्यन्दिनसंहिता* 8. 51 and the *तैत्तिरीयसंहिता* 33. 9. 1 respectively.

(2) *Pāraskara* has quoted the *Pratīka* of the *mantra* इह रतिरिति । मा. सं. 8. 51 as it belongs to his own school. There was no necessity for *Śāṅkhāyana* to prescribe this *mantra* not belonging to the *R̥gveda*. He could have selected a similar *mantra* from the *R̥gveda*. But as he copied out the whole *Vṛṣotsarga* from *Pāraskara*, he had no other way than giving the full text of the *mantra* prescribed by *Pāraskara*.

(3) *Pāraskara's sūtra* नभ्यस्थेममिमन्त्रयते मयोभूरित्यनुवाकशेषेण is read as नभ्यस्थेऽनुमन्त्रयते मयोभूरित्यनुवाकशेषेण by *Śāṅkhāyana* with a slight modification without understanding the absurdity created by him for his followers.

The *Mādhyandina Samhitā* is divided into *Adhyāyas*, *anuvākas* and *mantras*. The maximum no. of *mantras* in an *anuvāka* of the *Mādhyandina samhitā* is only 27. Naturally therefore *Pāraskara* has prescribed the recitation of *anuvākas* at many places in his *Gṛhyasūtra*. e.g.

1. शुक्रज्योतिरित्यनुवाकेन वा । २.१०.१७
2. आयातिवन्द्र इत्यनुवाकेन । २.१६.४
3. प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाभ्यां वाऽनुवाकाभ्याम् । ३.८.१३
4. विघ्नादित्यनुवाक- । स्नानसूत्रम् ।

In the same way, he has prescribed here the last five *mantras* beginning with the *yajū* मयोभूरि मा वाहि स्वाहा । of the *Anuvāka*. This is quite in keeping with his style of prescribing *anuvākas*. The word मयोभू: does not occur at the beginning of the *mantra*. But scholars conversant with *yajus* know that *yajus* are split up and the present *yajū* begins with the word मयोभू:. Thus it will be clearly seen that the author of this *sūtra* is *Pāraskara* and he has not borrowed it from *Śāṅkhāyanagṛhyasūtra*.

This *sūtra* when read in the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* becomes absurd.

1. Neither *Āśvalāyana* nor *Śāṅkhāyana* nor *Kauṣītaka* has prescribed the recitation of *Anuvākas* anywhere in his *sūtras*. The expression “ अनुवाकशेषेण ” is foreign to the schools of *R̥gveda* where the *Anuvākas* are very lengthy.

2. 23 *Sūktas* from 169-191 i.e. 83 *mantras* in all which have no connection with this ceremony have to be recited. No *Sūtrakāra* has prescribed such a lengthy recitation in this ceremony. Hence this is a blind copy of *Pāraskara's sūtra* without any idea of its absurdity in the *R̥gvedic* School.

3. *Kauṣītakagṛhyasūtra* reads this *sūtra* correctly as “ नभ्यस्थे वृषे ‘मयोभूर्वाजि’ इति च सूक्तेन ” । ३-६-१०. *Śāṅkhāyana* also ought to have adapted *Pāraskara's sūtra* as “ नभ्यस्थेऽनुमन्त्रयते मयोभूरिति सूक्तेन । ”

It will be clearly seen from the above discussion that *Śāṅkhāyana* has copied from *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* and not *vice versa*. Prof. Oldenberg's remark in this respect is, therefore, based on a superficial study of the two *sūtras*.

Page 72—The author remarks :—

"In the *Pār. G. S.* the position of these *sūtras* does not appear to be so logical and appropriate as that in the *Śāṅkh. G. S.* Since the sense expressed by the thirty-first *sūtra* of *Pār. G. S. I. 3* has already been conveyed by the third *sūtra* of the same *Kaṇḍikā*, its position at the end of the *Kaṇḍikā* is odd and inappropriate. The only justification for placing this *sūtra* at the end of the *Kaṇḍikā* could be that all the three *sūtras* (i.e. I. 3.29-31) were borrowed by *Pāraskara* from some other work and put together at the end in the original order".

But it is not so. *Śāṅkhāyana Grhyasūtra* is incomplete and defective in many respects. The followers of the *Śāṅkhāyana* school have to resort to the *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra* where *Śāṅkhāyana* is silent. On the other hand *Pāraskara Grhyasūtra* is complete in itself and so the followers of the school do not require the help of other *Grhyasūtras* to perform their rites. It is, therefore, irrelevant to suppose that *Pāraskara* borrowed from a *Grhyasūtra* which is incomplete and defective in itself.

The author, it appears, has not adequately studied the *sūtra* of *Pāraskara* on *Madhuparka*. The third *sūtra* 'यक्ष्यमाणस्तृत्विजः' means that the *Ṛtwiks* who perform sacrifices such as *Darśa*, *Paurṇamāsa* etc. are to be honoured by *madhuparka* every year only. But *sūtra* 31 is an exception to the third *sūtra*. It lays down that the *Ṛtwiks* necessarily honoured with *madhuparka* can perform *Soma* sacrifice for the *Yajamāna* although the sacrifice is repeated more than once in a year. The commentators have made this very clear. Hence the author's conjecture is groundless and the whole problem deserves reconsideration. Similarly the author's conjecture that *Pāraskara* has incorporated the *sūtras* of *Śāṅkhāyana* in a single *sūtra* II. 11.6 is also not acceptable. A comparison between the two *sūtras* will clearly show that if *Pāraskara* would have copied these *sūtras* he would not have violated their order. Strictly speaking there is no agreement between the two but both are independent.

Page 73—The author states :—

"A comparison of the two texts makes it perfectly clear that the *Vas. D. S.* is quoting the above mentioned *sūtras* of *Pāraskara* mainly with a view to rebutting *Pāraskara's* approval of intercaste marriage between *Dwijas* and *Śūdras*. Moreover the *Vas. D. S. 1.36* disapproves of the *Pār. G. S. 1.8.18*. Thus the reputation of *Pāraskara's* views by *Vasiṣṭha* indicates that the *Pār. G. S.* is earlier than the *Vas. D. S.*".

Here the author appears to have misunderstood the *Pāraskara Grhyasūtra*—*ब्रह्मण्येके मन्त्रवर्जम्* 1. *Pāraskara* is recording in this *sūtra* the opinion of others—*Baudhāyana*, *Manu* etc.—and not offering his own. If it were not unacceptable to him, there was no necessity of his recording the opinion of others in the present *sūtra*, but he could have composed his previous *sūtras* on the lines of

Baudhāyana and included the 'śūdrā' in them. *Vasiṣṭha*, after quoting the *sūtras* of *Pāraskara*, refutes the views of others in clear words and follows the opinion of *Pāraskara*.

Page 85—The author says :—

" Similarly we find a change of custom with regard to the performance of the *Śūlagava*. The earlier *gṛhyasūtras* such as the *Āsv. G. S.*, the *Baud. G. S.* and the *Mānava G. S.* prescribe the immolation of a cow at the *śūlagava* while the later *gṛhyasūtras* such as the *Āp. G. S.* and *Hir. G. S.* lay down that the *Śūlagava* should be performed by sacrificing a mass of cooked food (*Sthālipāka*)."

The author has failed to include, in the list of earlier *Gṛhyasūtras*, the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* which prescribes the immolation of a cow at the *Śūlagava*. On this and similar other grounds the antiquity of the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* will have to be re-established.

P. 122—The author notes :—

" As for connubial relations between different castes *Pāraskara* and *Baudhāyana* lay down that a Brahmin may marry a girl belonging to any of the first four castes, that a *Kṣatriya* may marry a girl belonging to any of the three castes namely, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* and that a *Vaiśya* may marry a girl of *Vaiśya* or *Śūdra* caste, though the *Vas. D. S.* disallows the *Dwijas* to marry a girl of *Śūdra* caste."

The author's statement is quite correct so far as *Baudhāyana* is concerned. *Baudhāyana* clearly says :—

चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राः ।
तेषां वर्णानुपूर्व्येण चतस्रो भार्या ब्राह्मणस्य ।
तिस्रो राजन्यस्य । द्वे वैश्यस्य । एका शूद्रस्य ।

बौधायनधर्मसूत्रम् । १. ८. १-५.

Pāraskara, however, does not allow marriage with a *śūdra*. He says—तिस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य वर्णानुपूर्व्येण । द्वे राजन्यस्य । एका वैश्यस्य । But he has recorded the view of others who allowed the marriage of a *śūdrā* with Brahmins, *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* in the *sūtra*—शूद्रामप्येके सन्त्रवर्जम् । only to suggest his dislike towards the view of great sages like *Baudhāyana*, *Manu* etc. *Yājñavalkya* in his *Smṛti* follows *Pāraskara* and condemns the marriage with a *śūdrā*. Thus *Pāraskara* and *Yājñavalkya* should not be confounded with *Baudhāyana* and *Manu*.

Page 255—The author records :

" The *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, therefore, enumerates the forty *saṃskāras* as follows :—"

That *Gautama* enlists 40 *Samśkāras* is known to all. However, it is surprising that not a single writer on *Dharmaśāstra*—ancient or modern—has taken cognizance of the 48 *Samśkāras* referred to by *Śaṅkarācārya* and enumerated

by *Anandagiri* in his commentary. The texts of the *Bhāṣya* and the commentary are given below for a ready reference:—

यस्यैतेऽष्टाचत्वारिंशत् संस्कारा इत्याद्या च संस्कारप्रसिद्धिर्वैदिकेषु कर्मसु तत्संस्कृतस्य विद्योत्पत्तिमसिप्रेत्य स्मृतौ भवति ।

ब्रह्मसूत्रशाङ्करभाष्यम् । ३. ४. ३४

गर्भाधानादयः सहधर्मचारिणीसंयोगान्ताश्चतुर्दश । पञ्च महायज्ञाः सप्त सोमसंस्थाः सप्त हविःसंस्थाः सप्त पाकसंस्था इति चत्वारिंशत् संस्काराः । अनश्नत् संहिताध्ययनं प्रायणं कर्म जप उत्क्रमणं दैहिकं भस्मसमूहनमग्नि-संचयनं श्राद्धानीत्येवमष्टाचत्वारिंशत् संस्काराः ।

These 48 *Samiskāras* enumerated by *Anandagiri* and referred to by *Śaṅkarācārya* are yet to be traced to their original source.

Page 445—The author contends:—

“*Baudhāyana* and *Vasiṣṭha* prescribe the remarriage of a woman whose husband dies after betrothal or whose husband dies after the performance of nuptials but before the consummation of marriage. It is thus clear from these injunctions of the *Dharmasūtras* that widows were not to burn themselves with their dead husband nor were they suffered to remain widows throughout their life”.

It should be noted that the permission for remarriage is conditional and is prevalent even to-day. It is accepted by all the writers on *Dharmaśāstra*. It is not applicable to all widows. The author's conclusion is in no way supported by the evidence quoted by him. It is simply a bold conjecture deviating from the evidence.

Apart from all the above controversial points it can be said to the credit of the author that he has presented an excellent study on India of Vedic *Kalpa-sūtras*. It will be highly appreciated and welcomed by scholars, who love to understand the culture of ancient India.

J. S. PADE

Sarvasiddhāntapraveśaka: Edited by MUNI JAMBUVIJAYAJI: Published by Jaina-Sahitya-Vikasa Mandala, 112, Svami Vivekanand Road, Bombay-56, (AS), Pages-23, Price Re. 1.

This is a very small treatise on different systems of Indian Philosophy edited by the learned Muni Jambuvijayaji. He has also given his own useful *Tippanaka* on it. His *Tippanaka* includes the variants of the two MSS viz A and B and different references too. The two MSS used for editing the text are both palmleaf MSS. The scribe of the MS B which is a later one notes the date as VS. 1201 i.e. the MS B is as old as 1145 A.D. The author of the treatise is completely unknown to us as no reference of his name is found anywhere in the text. From the *Maṅgala* verse the learned editor assumes that the author is a Jaina monk. He also notes in his *Tippanaka* that this *Maṅgala* Verse is not found in

MS.B. It is there in MS.A which seems older than B. One does not understand why the scribe of B should remove the Maṅgala Verse if at all it existed in the original text. The absence of the Maṅgala Verse in the MS B may create a doubt regarding the author whether he was a Jaina or not. However MS A being an older one containing the Maṅgala Verse leads us to assume that the author of the treatise might be a Jaina. The Puṣpikā of the MS B states that the scribe of the text was Dhavala and he wrote the text with the help of a scholar Yaśas who was in Bhṛgukacha, *i.e.*, modern Broach. This does not throw any light on the authorship-whether the author was a Jaina or not.

This small treatise is really a primer to a student of Indian philosophy. It begins with the Chapter on Nyāya Philosophy which covers merely 5 small pages while that on Vaiśeṣika 7, on Jaina only 1 but on sāṅkhya 4. On Sugata or Buddhist Philosophy only one and a half page, and two pages each on Mīmāṃsā and Lokāyatika. Thus the whole treatise contains only 22½ pages which also includes the Ṭippanaka of the learned editor. The bibliography shows that though the treatise is a very small one, the learned editor has spared no pains to edit it correctly and to give all possible references. The author in this treatise does not touch Yoga and Vedānta Philosophies at all. One can understand that as the Yoga Philosophy is an applied science for the realisation of different tenets of different philosophies and it does accept almost all the tenets of Sāṅkhya Philosophy the author might not have treated it separately, but there does not seem any convincing reason for not giving place to Vedānta Philosophy. The learned editor has also not discussed this problem.

It seems that perhaps in the realm of Indian Philosophy Vedānta got its place only after Śaṅkarācārya's exposition of it and not before it. This is the reason why the learned Jaina monk Haribhadrāsūri also did not treat the Vedānta Philosophy as a separate Darśana in his Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya. Of course Haribhadrāsūri was prior to Śaṅkarācārya but at the same time Vedānta Philosophy was not known in the same light before Śaṅkara. This may be the probable reason why the old authors did not treat it as a separate philosophy. This treatise seems to be as if the summary of Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya of Haribhadrāsūri. From this treatise one cannot get the real idea of the different schools of Buddhist philosophy or even Mīmāṃsaka one. The treatise being purely a primer to a beginner gives some faint idea of different Indian philosophies and nothing more. However for a beginner this is also a necessity and in that way it is a useful treatise. We may hope that Jaina Sāhitya Vikāsa Maṇḍala will also bring out some other useful old texts with the help of learned scholars like Muni Jambuvijayaji, the editor of this small treatise.

J. S. JETLY

Ātmabodhaprakaraṇa of Śaṅkarācārya with a commentary ascribed to Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, edited with an introduction and notes by DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA Śāstrī, Tarka-Vedānta-Tirtha. Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1961. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No. XVII. Price Rs. 5/-. Pages XVIII+20+2.

Ātmabodhaprakaraṇa of Śaṅkarācārya is one of his well-known short treatises on *Advaita Vedānta*. It consists of 68 lucid verses on Self-realisation. It is now published with a hitherto unpublished commentary ascribed to *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* the distinguished Bengali Advaitin of the sixteenth century. The commentary cannot be identified as the work of *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* for want of sufficient internal and external evidence. It is, however, useful for its lucid exposition.

The text of the commentary is based on two manuscripts one preserved in the Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta and the other deposited in the India Office Library, London. The editor has very carefully, edited the text with the commentary. He has noted the variants in the foot-notes and added explanatory notes where necessary. Quotations occurring in both the text and the commentary have also been traced to their original sources.

In his learned introduction, the editor has very creditably discussed all the relevant topics such as (1) *Viśaya*, *Adhikāri* and *Prayojana*; (2) Nature of the self; (3) Adjuncts of the self; (4) The five *Kośas*; (5) Epistemology of Self-realisation; (6) Means of realisation; (7) Self-realisation; (8) *Jīvan-mukti*; (9) *Parāmukti* or the final liberation etc.

The present edition, I feel, will be very helpful to the students of *Advaita Vedānta*. The editor and the publishers deserve congratulations for bringing it out in such a neat form.

J. S. PADE.

Karṇāmṛta-prapā of Bhaṭṭa Someśvara: Edited by PADMASRI MUNI JINAVIJAYAJI. Published by Director, Rājasthān Prācya-Vidyā Pratiṣṭhāna, Jodhpur (Rajasthan) 1963, V. S. 2020. Pages 2 + 40. Price Rs. 2=25 nP.

It is a pleasure to see that this work of Bhaṭṭa Someśvara which is considered to be the last of his compositions has been published now. The readers of the hither-to-published works like *Kīrti-Kaumudī*, *Surathotsava* and *Ullāgha-rāghava* might have enjoyed the lustre and beauty of Someśvara's poetry. This anthology adds one more feather to his crest as it completes the list of his works which have seen the light. He wrote on diversified subjects like *Nāṭaka*, *Mahākāvya*, *Prasasti* etc. and earned a name in his own life time and was considered a remarkable poet of mediaeval Sanskrit literature. Historians have pointed out that the first half of the 13th century A.D. was the period

of Someśvara's active life. A period of about two centuries in the vicinity of Someśvara's life may be called as the 'Golden period' in the History of Gujarat and 'the renaissance period of Sanskrit' in Gujarat. Someśvara wrote his works under the patronage of the minister Vastupāla and was also one of his close friends. Dr. B. J. Sandesara has given a detailed description of the poet's geneology, literary works etc. in his book named 'Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla' (pp. 44-52).

The present work is distributed under 13 heads like (1) *lakṣmī*, (2) *kāma*, (3) *lobha*, (4) *kali-swarūpa*, (5) *kunarendra-nindā*, (6) *durjana*, (7) *manasvī*, (8) *vidhi*, (9) *nirveda*, (10) *prakīrṇa-kāvyaoktayaḥ*, (11) *śama*, (12) *upad.śa*, and (13) *śrīkṛṣṇa-prārthanā* and contains 217 verses, which are composed in various metres like *anuṣṭup*, *indravajrā*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita* etc. All the verses bear the testimony of original creation with the exception of a few, among which the verse beginning with 'Sūnuḥ Saccaritaḥ' may be cited as the copy of Bhartṛhari.

The editor has also added 'Sajjana-durjana-varṇana,' 'Saṃsāra-sthiti-varṇana' and 'Prakīrṇa-sūktāni' which are found in other works of Someśvara.

The editor and the publisher of this work are to be congratulated for their worthy attempt in finding and publishing this rare work and we hope that such service will be continued by them for the benefit of Lovers of Sanskrit Literature.

B. L. SHANBHOGUE

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OF
PUÑJARĀJA

Edited with an Introduction

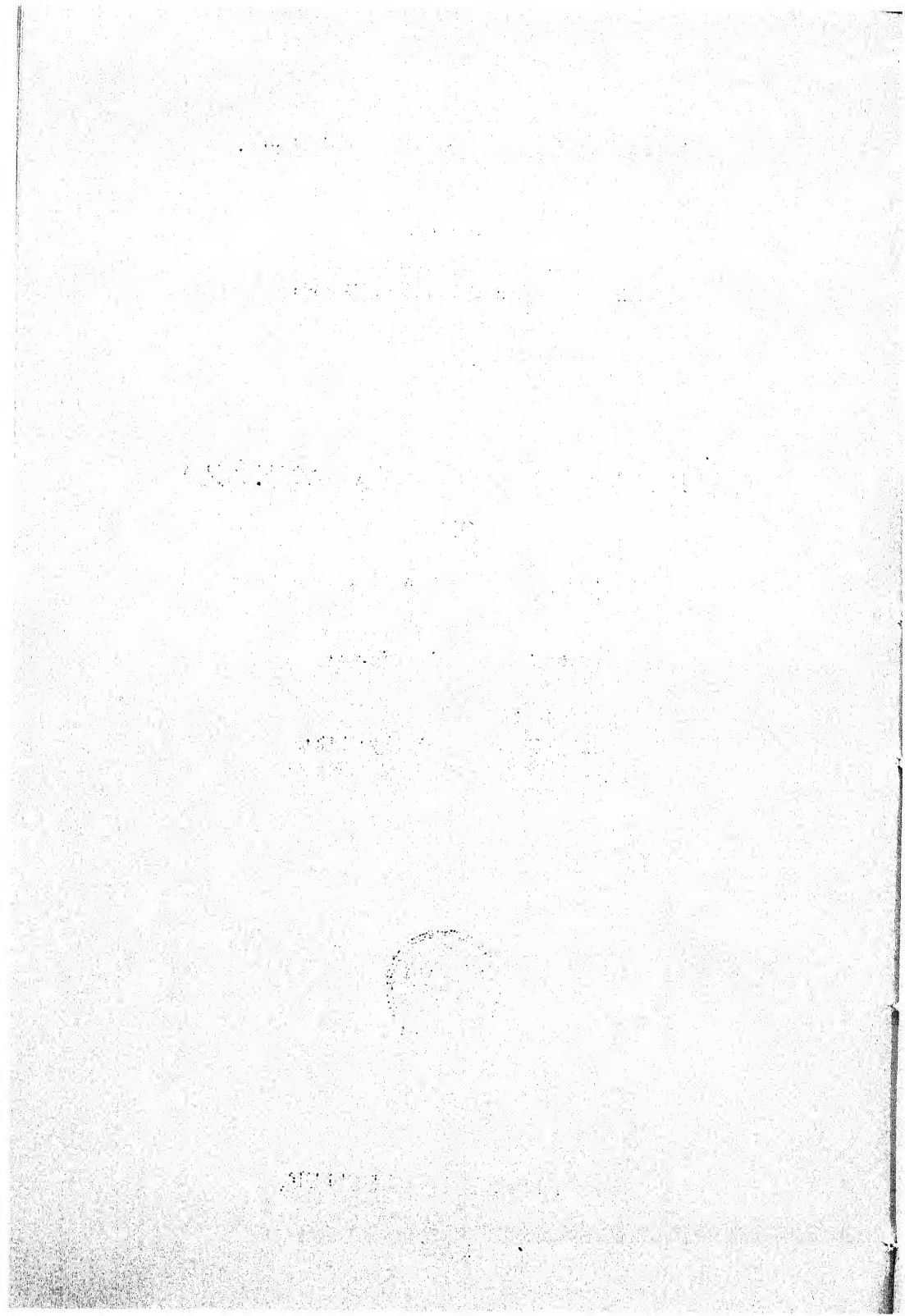
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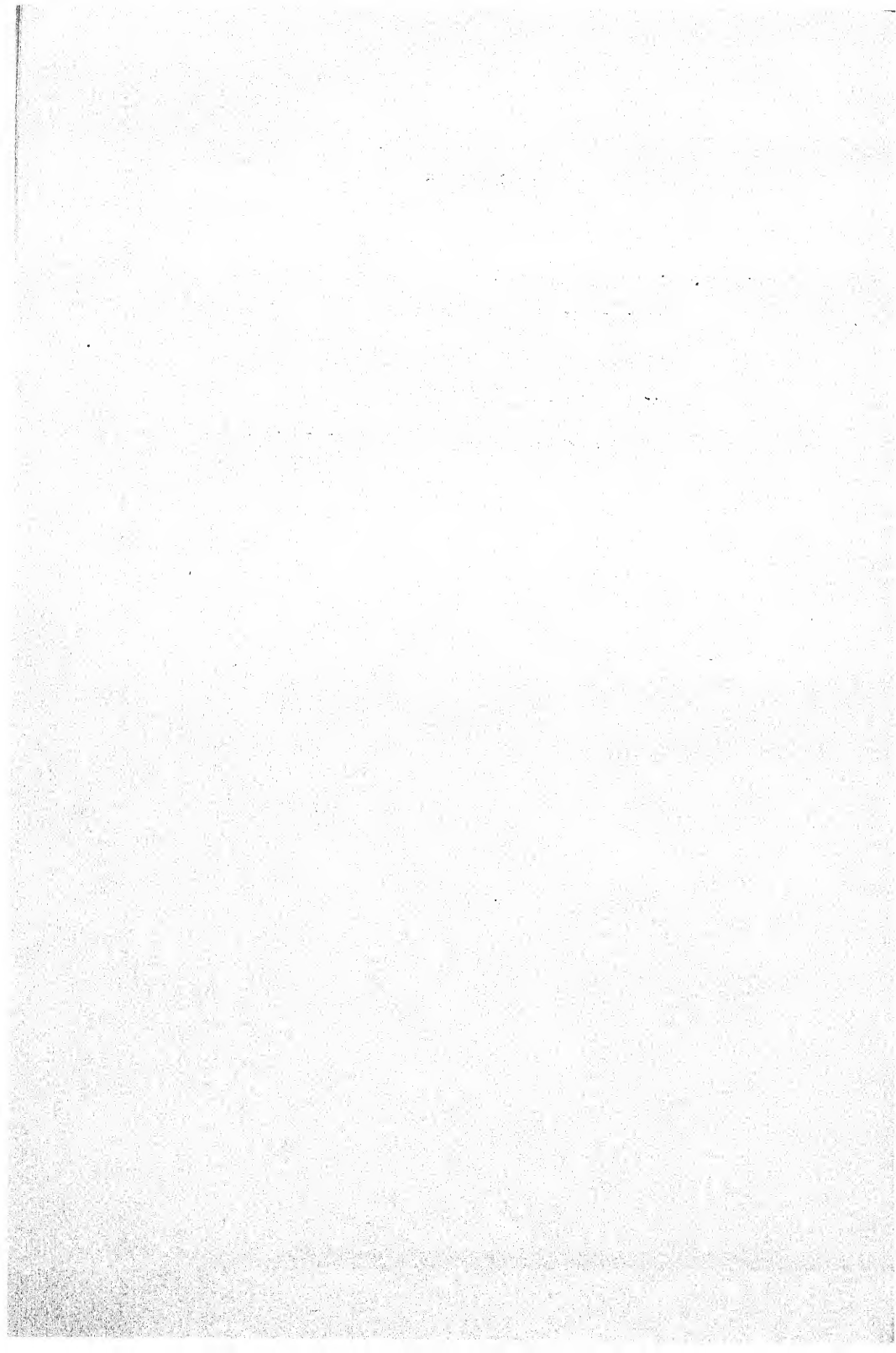
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE,
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1965



FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to introduce this hitherto unpublished work of Puñjarāja on Alaṅkāraśāstra, edited with a learned introduction by Pandit B. L. Shanbhogue, Research Officer of this Institute. The work is being published as M. S. University Oriental Series no. 7. I trust that this will be a welcome addition to our literature of Alaṅkāraśāstra.

B. J. Sandesara
Director



INTRODUCTION

Source

Only two MSS. belonging to the MSS library of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, which bear the accession Nos. 14259 (A) and 2197 (B) have been utilized in preparing the text in the present edition. While the printing work of the text was going on, a third MS. was procured from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, which bears the No. 210 of 1882-83 (C). Comparing the prepared text with the newly procured MS (c) which has been reduced to half of the portion owing to loss of many folios I could not find changes in readings in it. So, it has not been utilized for the purpose of giving different readings. Still, as it is a numbered MS, out of these three, numbers appearing in it and those present in the text tally with each other with an exception in a few cases. The numbers in the text and in MS (C) are continuous for *Vārtika*, *Vṛtti* and *Uddāraṇa*. The description of these MSS is as follows:

(A) This belongs to the Oriental Institute, Baroda, which has ACC. no. 14259, folios 30, lines on each page 13 and letters in each line 40-45.

Margins on left and right side are 1.3" on each side. Lower and upper margins are .5" each, and condition is good. Paper is very thin and some portions at the end of margins are torn. Marking of margins, endings of verses, lines of mentioning the Adhyayas and the colophon are smeared with red pigment. Letters are clear and easily readable. All verses are unnumbered with the exception of a few and numbers of folios only are marked on the corner of the left side of the reverse page of each folio. Original writing is full of mistakes and is having omissions on several occasions and all these have been corrected by another hand. Mode of writing is as follows:

Generally *pr̥ṣṭha-mātrās* are used in adding signs of vowels like *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au* to consonants. Difference between *sa* and *śa* as well as *va* and *ca*, *va* and *ba* and *ta* and *na* is not generally maintained. *kha* in place of *śa* and *sa* in place of *kha* is used. A peculiar style is accepted in writing *ya*, *bha*, *sva* and *ṣṇa* etc. Sometimes confusion is created in the words like *t*, *tu*, *nu* etc. as difference between *ta* and *na* is not shown. Homogeneous nasals are neglected and *anusvāras* are used in their places. Recorded number of *granthas* in the ms. is 1000 and the date is *samvat* 1584. The entry after the colophon is as follows:

मोदझातीय जोसी पीतांबर लिपिता ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥ ग्रंथ १००० ॥ स्वस्ति संवत् १५८४ वर्षे वैशाख शुद्धि १ तिथौ मंत्रिश्री भाभाजी एते लेखयामासुः शिष्यप्रबोधात्कारपुस्तकं ॥

Hand-writing of the corrections and of the portion ग्रंथ १०००.....पुस्तकं ॥ differs from the original writing.

Peculiarity of this ms. is the way of decorating the folios. One round red stamp-mark in the middle of the obverse and three such marks, on the reverse, two on margins and one in the middle are found.

Ms. (B) also belongs to the Oriental Institute, Baroda and has acc. no. 2197. There are 21 folios measuring 10.4" × 4.4", having 15 lines on each page and 50-55 letters in each line. Margins of 1.1" on both right and left sides and of .5" on upper and lower portions of the pages are left blank. Margins on right and left sides are marked with four lines in black ink. Though the ms. is undated and undamaged it seems that it is old enough, being considered on the merit of its paper. Mode of writing tallies with that of A. Though there are many mistakes, only a few are corrected, probably by the same scribe. A few verses are numbered here and there. Only black ink is used for all purposes.

Both A and B are having *prasaṣti* of the author in 13 verses¹ at the end of the work. As there are common mistakes in many places in both the mss.² it is inferred that A must be an exemplar for B, or both must have a third one as their exemplar.

MS. C belongs to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona and has no. 210 of 1882-83. The measurement of folio is 8" × 4.2". Lines on each page are 9 or 10 and letters in each line are 22-26. Though the ms. originally had 70 folios, actual folios found are 36½, the folios missing being nos. 2, 7 (2nd part), 10 (1st part), 11, 16, 19, 21, 23-25, 27-29, 41, 43-45, 49 (2nd part), and 53-69. This ms. is the peculiar one. Each sheet is folded and pasted. So the first part and the fourth part are used for writing as the other two parts are pasted. So, the folios nos. 7, 10 and 49 are having only one part, being separated from the other part owing to disappearance of the gum. Writing is clear. Though the ms. is undated, it seems that it is considerably old. All verses are numbered. After the colophon the following verse appears :—

शिशुप्रबोधस्य च पुस्तकं शुभं श्रीरामभद्रः कृपया ददौ सुधीः ।

शुक्लस्ततस्तत्परकृत्यसिद्धये लिलेख शुक्लेश्वरसन्निधौ किल ॥

The examination of these three mss. has given scope for inferring that the mss. might not have been copied after the particular period, *i. e.* 16th century, as the work might not have been popular. Appearance of a few mss. now is also another evidence in proving the non-popularity of this work. On the contrary mss. of *sārasvata-prakriya-tīkā* of the same author are available in sufficient numbers³ to prove its popularity. This may be due to propaganda made by

¹ *ibid.* see pages 75-76.

² Ref. *ibid.*, p. 3. f.n. 2 ; p. 8. f.n. 4 and onwards.

³ Ref. Catalogue of mss, Oriental Institute, Baroda. Vol. I p. 730, serial nos. 443-449. and Catalogue of Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, Fascicule V (1948), p. 5827 nos. 266-272.

the rulers of those days to give support to easy grammar of Sanskrit. Giasuddin Khilji, the enlightened king of Malava, the patron of the learned, encouraged this system of grammar⁴ and hence the popularity of this *līkā*.

The foot-notes appearing in this text have recorded not only different readings, but also the errors appearing in the mss. This may give a clear idea of these old mss.

PUÑJARĀJA AS THE KING OF MĀLAVA AND HIS DATE

Though there is a saying among the writers of the history of Sanskrit literature that the authors of compositions have not left any information about their life and career, age and place of residence, still there are exceptions to this general saying. Among the several exceptions may be the instance of one named Puñjarāja of Mālava. At the end of his works like *Sārasvata Prakriyā-līkā* and *Śiṣu-Prabodha-Kāvya-lāṅkāra*, after the colophon he has given something of his geneology, occupation, title and the name of his patron. All this information furnished by him is in Praśastis of thirteen⁵ and twenty two verses⁶ which appear after the colophons of his works *Śiṣuprabodha-Kāvya-lāṅkāra* and *Sārasvata Prakriyā-līkā* respectively, constituting something of a life-sketch. Praśastis do not lead one to decide his exact date. Though he says that he was the King (for some time atleast) of Mālava, no historian has recorded this fact in any historical work. The names of Giasuddin, his son Nasiruddin and, again, the name of Mahmud Khilji II (1511-1531 A.D.) are recorded.⁷ As the author himself says in his own words, that he was the King, one has to believe it and try to find out what period would possibly be assigned to him. Dr. P. K. Gode⁸ surmises that he might have become the King between 1531 and 1535, when Mālava was under Gujarat, after the death of Mahmud Khilji II in 1531 A.D. or between 1511 and 1526 A.D., when Mahmud Khilji II had fled to Gujarat. At the same time, Dr. Gode surmises that the word : Narendra (*Puñjarājo narendrah*) might have been used in any other sense. So Dr. Gode has left the matter to historians for their decision, as he was mainly concerned with the oldest record of the date of the manuscript of Puñjarāja's commentary on the *Sārasvata-Prakriyā*. He may be correct in establishing the oldest record as he has done. But, regarding other subjects which he has discussed, there is difference of opinion. The names which he has recorded in the geneology of Puñjarāja, like Sadepāla and Yāmpaca, seem to be incorrect in the place of

⁴ Cf. An account of different existing Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Poona, 1915, p. 93.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 75-76.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 77-79.

⁷ cf. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. II, p. 381. Table VIII.

⁸ cf. Brahma-vidyā, Vol. V, 1941, Adyar, p. 124.

Depāla and Pāpaca, and the dates fixed for his predecessors seem to be imaginary and without other corroboration in any sources of information.

There are three works which are attributed to Puñjarāja, namely, (1) *Sārasvata-Prakriyā-tikā* (2) *Dhvanipradīpa* and (3) *Śiśu-prabodha-Kāvya-lāṅkāra*. Out of these I have examined several manuscript copies of *Sārasvata-Prakriyā-tikā* and *Śiśu-prabodha-Kāvya-lāṅkāra*. Out of the copies examined by me, seven of *Sārasvata-Prakriyā-tikā* and two of *Śiśu-prabodha-Kāvya-lāṅkāra* belong to the Oriental Institute Baroda, and one of *Śiśu-prabodha-Kāvya-lāṅkāra* belongs to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, which is undated.

No. 4149, 976 and 866 copies of *Sārasvata-prakriyā-tika* bear the Saṁvat 1547, 1623 and 1821 respectively. Only one copy of *Śiśu-prabodha-Kāvya-lāṅkāra*, No. 14259, bears the saṁvat 1584 (1528 A.D.).

Though No. 4149 bears Saṁvat 1547 (1490 A.D.), I have come to the conclusion that it must be the date of the composition; as the verse at the end bears the word: विनिर्मिता, i. e.:

मुनियुगश्रेन्दुवर्षे श्रीपुञ्जविनिर्मिता महाटीका ।

सप्तदशल्लिखनपूर्वं संशोधिता कीर्तिविमलेन ॥

The verse 'यादृशं पुस्तकं...मम दोषो न विद्यते', which appeared before this is erased with the use of yellow pigment. So it seems that the correction of mistakes in the whole manuscript must be the work of Kīrtivimāla. On this evidence one can infer that this Grammar could have been written by Puñjarāja, only at a mature age, say, when he was 35 to 40 years of age. This would be the starting point for our fixing his exact life-time.

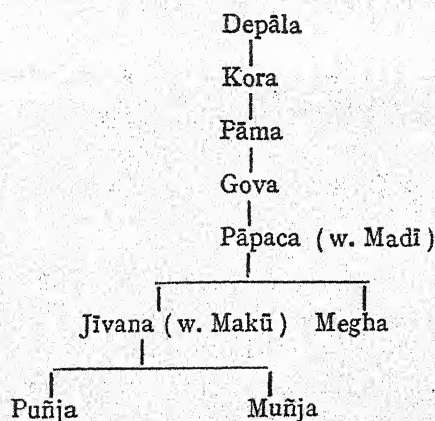
In the next order comes the MS. No. 14259 of *Śiśuprabodha-Kāvya-lāṅkāra* which bears Saṁvat 1584 (1528 A.D.), which probably was a copy prepared after his death, from some other MS. Because, it has several omissions committed haplographically and some other mistakes.

So one may come to a decision that he might have flourished between 1450 and 1525 or he might have lived longer, even after 1525, giving up worldly pleasures and accepting *sannyāsa*.

Another historical fact supporting this theory or supposition may be advanced as follows: Puñjarāja's uncle *megha* who became minister after the renunciation of *Jīvanendra* in favour of his own younger brother, received an honourable title from his master Giasuddin Khilji. This information is supplied only in the *praśasti* of *sārasvata-prakriyā-tikā*. On the contrary, the *praśasti* in *Śiśuprabodha-Kāvya-lāṅkāra* and the colophon have the mention of the title connected with the name of Puñjarāja. Now the first recipient of the title from the King, Giasuddin, was the uncle and the second—the nephew. As the

historians have shown that Giasuddin was poisoned in the year 1500 A.D.⁹ the title should have been conferred earlier. Therefore it is evident that he should have been honoured between 1490 and 1500 A.D.

The title : *Mafar-ul-Malik* which means 'the refuge of kings' has particular significance, as the *prāśasti* records, as follows: अवलिपतिशरण्यान् etc. Probably, Megha might have helped Malik Mughis Khilji in ascending the throne of Mālava, after Ghazni Khan, Muhmmad Ghori, and in establishing Khilji dynasty. The whole Khilji dynasty could not survive as rulers of Mālava after the death of Mahmud Khilji II, in 1531. So the period from 1436 to 1531 A.D. i.e. 100 years, may be considered as the period of the reign of the Khilji dynasty. As there was keen rivalry between Gujarat and Mālava during this time, the Khilji dynasty might have been supported by the predecessors of *Puñjarāja*. The *prāśastis*, as those appear in both works, give detailed information about the wealth, intelligence and strength of the whole dynasty of *Puñjarāja*, in which the first name mentioned by *Puñjarāja* is *Depāla*. After *Depāla*, the geneologies in both the works tally with each other. The geneology is as follows :—



Among these, Jivana and Megha are described in the *prāśastī* as having the king subordinate to their orders, i.e. *Ājñavaśikṛtānṛpau*. The whole *prāśastī* bears plenty of historical data such as that given below:

- (1) Giasuddin Khilji ruled in *Mandapadurga* (Mandu).
- (2) His first minister was *Jivana*, the father of *Puñjarāja*.
- (3) His second minister was *Megha*.
- (4) His third minister was *Puñjarāja* himself.

(5) After *Puñjarāja*, his own younger brother, *Muñja*, became the minister, as *Puñjarāja* himself relinquished his position in favour of his younger brother, himself accepting *sannyāsa*.

⁹ The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. II, p. 380. l. 13-15.

This also proves firmly the theory advanced by me that *Puñjarāja* flourished during the reign of Gīyasuddīn Khiljī (1469-1500) and that the period of ministership of *Jivana* must have been divided into two, the first having been with Mahmud Khiljī I. In the same manner, the period of Puñja's ministership too should have been divided into two, the first being with Gīasuddīn.

As such it may be surmised that Puñja might have written the Grammar first, then *dhvanipradīpa* and lastly, *Sīśu-prabodha-Kāvya-lankāra*. In this way, we may consider the word 'Narendra' used in the *prāsasti*, connected with *Punja*'s name, as merely significant of his being 'superior among men' as it has been also understood by Dr. Gode. But the word '*nṛpati*' which occurs in the *prāsasti* of the *Kāvya-lankāra* must have been used in its original sense, of 'King'. But, the narration in *prāsasti* removes the doubt and establishes the kingship of Puñja.¹⁰

So when Nāsiruddīn had fled to Gujarat¹¹ as a result of political upheaval in Mālava, probably *Puñjarāja* might have stepped into his place and given the ministership to his younger brother, *Muñja*. Thereafter, he might have subsequently relinquished his throne, inviting Mahmud Khiljī II to resumé his rule.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the identity of *Puñjarāja*, as the King of Mālava, whose name is not recorded in contemporary political history, is established through his own *prāsastis*, appearing at the end of the two works: *Sārasvata-prakriyā-tīkā* and *Kāvya-lankāra*.

HIS PLACE

According to Th. Aufrecht,¹² *Puñjarāja* is considered to be a successor of those of Shrimala family which might have migrated from Malabar, to Mālava. The same view has been held by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar too. In the case of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, the source of information may be the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Th. Aufrecht. But it is difficult to find out, from which source Aufrecht got this information. From *Prāsastis* appearing in the end of *Sārasvata-Prakriyā-Tīkā* and the present work, do not give any clue to this information. I do not think that the family named Shrimala might have existed in Malabara and at the same time the Vaishnavism too, to which cult *Puñjarāja* belonged. M. Krishna-

¹⁰ Cf. *Ibid.* p. 78. verse 15. 'प्रभुतासौख्यमनाकुलं विमर्ति ।

¹¹ Cf. *Madya-yugīna-caritra-kośa* (marathi) by Siddhe-svaraśāstrī Citrāva, Poona. 1937. P. 609.

¹² Cf. *Catalogus Catalogorum* by Theodor Aufrecht. Leipzig, 1891. Page 338.

¹³ Cf. pp. 96-97 of *An Account of the Different Existing Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* by S. K. Belvalkar, Poona, 1915.

machari in his 'History of Classical Sanskrit Literature'¹⁴ is silent regarding this information, though he has mentioned more things about Puñjarāja than those said by other historians. Dr. P. K. Gode also does not speak about this in his article styled 'The Oldest Dated Manuscript of Puñjarāja's Commentary on the Sārasvata-Prakriyā—Dated A.D. 1556 (Samvat 1612)', published in *Brahma-vidya* of Adyar (Vol. V. PP. 120-124). Therefore Puñjarāja must be a native of Rājasthāna only. Otherwise, it would have been mentioned clearly along with the names of his predecessors of his family, in two long *praśastis*, one of which bears 13 verses and the other one 22 verses.

Moreover, we find the names like '*puñja*, *muñja* and *kuñja* prevailing in Gujarat as well as in Rajasthan more than in any part of Bharat. Another Puñjarāja is also known as the author of the work named *śambhuhorā-prakāśa*. One historical name 'Puñjarāja'¹⁵ is also found in an inscription of the same century in Gujarat, which is supporting the above-said statement. Thus, we find one Puñjarāja as author, another as a king and the present one as author and king. So, all these facts prove the view which I have held regarding the place of Puñjarāja.

To author of the commentary on part of *vākya-pāṇini* of Bhartṛhari, who belonged to 12th century A.D. is also known as Puñjarāja to some.¹⁶ This name, I feel is a misnomer in the place of Puñjarāja. Aufrecht has recorded it as Puñyarāja,^{17a} which is also found as such, in the colophon of this commentary which lies in the mss. library of Oriental Institute, Baroda, bearing the no. 12699.

HIS WORKS

The Catalogus Catalogorum has already taken into account three works of Puñjarāja—namely 1. *dhvani-pradīpa*, 2. *śiṣuprabodha-kāvya-lāṅkāra* and 3. *sārasvata-prakriyā-līkā*^{17b} which others¹⁸ also have accepted as his works. Out of these the first one is a treatise on *dhvani*, the second one is an introductory work on figures of speech and the third one is a commentary on *Sārasvata-prakriyā* a work on grammar, the subjects of which may also be judged on the

¹⁴ Cf. P. 780, Para 892.

¹⁵ Cf. Bulletin of the Museum and Picture Gallery of Baroda. Vol. XV, p. 34 line 28. (article styled as 'Two Stone Inscriptions from the Old Idar State Territories by B. L. Mankad).

¹⁶ cf. A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar by K. S. Abhyankar, Baroda. 1961. p. 234, col. 2. and Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha Ed. Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar, Poona. 1951, p. 530.

^{17a} and ^{17b} cf. Catalogus Catalogorum. p. 339. col. 1. and p. 338. col. 2. resp.

¹⁸ cf. History of Sanskrit Poetics by Dr. P. V. Kane. Ed. Third., 1951. p.

merit of their names. Though he has himself mentioned in this present work, the name of *dhvani-pradīpa* and same is also recorded in catalogus, it has become rare. Probably it might had not attained the circulation among the people of that time as his other works. So, we find copies of manuscripts of *Sārasvata-prakriyā-tīkā* in abundance, whereas there is a limited number of copies of mss. of *śiśu-prabodha-kāvya-lāṅkāra* available. This shows that he was more a grammarian than a rhetorician.

Monier Williams has mentioned in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary¹⁹ under the word *puñja*—‘Puñjarāja as m. N. of a grammarian and author of a commentary on the *Sarasvatī-prakriyā*.’ S. K. Belvalkar says in his work ‘Systems of Sanskrit Grammar’²⁰ that Giasuddin Khilji the peaceful and enlightened ruler of Mālava encouraged the study of the *Sārasvata* grammar as being the one calculated to produce greatest results with least effort. Though he was a grammarian, his talents in the field of *Alaṅkāra* are not less, as one can judge from the present work. He has shown mastery over the composition of the verses which may be considered as belonging to *Vaidarbhī* style. If his *dhvani-pradīpa* is available, it would have been easier to decide his achievements in the field of higher poetics. Still, he has proved himself as a poet of mark.

HIS LIFE

Puñjarāja was the son of Jīvanendra and Makū of *Srimāla* family. Being born in a rich and learned family, he might have been trained and educated to a very high degree. As there is no mention of various activities of his predecessors right from Depāla to Pāpaca²¹ either in political field or in the field of learning, it may be surmised that they were not connected with royal family. Jīvanendra, the father of the present author, and the son of Pāpaca was appointed by Giasuddin Khilji as his minister. When Jīvanendra relinquished his minister-ship in the favour of his younger brother Megha, then Puñjarāja must have been a young lad. Megha, by the diligence in his administration won the favour of the king Giasuddin and became the recipient of the title ‘*Mafar-Al-Malik*’²² conferred on him by the king for being the refugee of the king. Then Puñjarāja succeeded the uncle and became the minister of Giasuddin and was honoured by the king with the same title which was conferred on his uncle on account of affection towards him.²³ The offer of the title to Megha is mentioned in the *Prasasti* of *Sārasvata-prakriyā-tīkā* and the offer of the second time to Puñjarāja is found in the *prasasti* of *Śiśu-prabodha Kāvya-lāṅkāra*. After the death of

¹⁹ cf. p. 579. col. 2.

²⁰ cf. p. 93.

²¹ cf. *ibid.* *prasastis* sl. 1-5, p. 75 and sl. 2-7, p. 77.

²² cf. *ibid.*, *Prasasti* of *Sārasvata-prakriyā-tīkā*. Sl. 11. p. 78.

²³ cf. *ibid.*, *prasasti* of *Śiśu-prabodha-kāvya-lāṅkāra* Sl. 10. p. 76.

Giasuddin in 1501 A.D. Nāsīruddīn Khilji ascended the throne of Mālava and Puñjarāja continued as the minister. When Nāsīruddīn was assassinated and his third son Muhmūd Khilji II became the king, then Medinīrai was an officer in charge of military affairs. On account of differences between these two, the king had to flee from Mālava to get the favour of Mujafar Shah, the king of Gujarat.²⁴ Probably, at this juncture Puñjarāja would have crept in as the king of Mālava handing over the charge of minister to his younger brother Muñja. Some historians opine that Medinīrai would have not tolerated Puñja's succession to the throne. This view does not hold good in this connection, as Medinīrai's object would have been fulfilled by this. Afterwards, Puñjarāja might have renounced the world, without accepting the ministership under Mahmūd Khilji II, and in favour of his younger brother. As the king Puñjarāja helped poor people of his kingdom, with plenty of monetary help and offerings of food and food-grains. This has been elaborately described in the *praśasti* of *Sārasvata-prakriyā-tikā*. So Puñjarāja proved himself as an eminent scholar, poet, king, philanthropist and saint.

Regarding his religious view one may have doubt, about his being a jaina, as he belonged to the *śrīmāla* family. Maṇḍana²⁵ a famous scholar of Rājasthāna was a jain and belonged to the Śrīmāla family. So in conclusion, I think that there might be two families of the same name, one belonging to jain cult and the other to Vaiṣṇava cult. This has been clearly mentioned in the *parśasti*, and this evidence itself may remove the doubt.

REGARDING THE PRESENT WORK

The present work consists of three parts : *kārikās*, *vṛttis* and *udāharāṇas* almost all of which are composed by his own self with the exception of some which are chosen from the works of Kālidāsa, as he says in the beginning of this work 'atrodāharāṇeṣu' etc.²⁶ Altogether the whole work is divided into eight chapters (*adhyāyas*), namely (1) *Kāvyasvarūpa-nirūpaṇa*, (2) *śabdadoṣa-nirūpaṇa*, (3) *doṣa-nirūpaṇa*, (4) *vākyaṛiṭha doṣa nirūpaṇa*, (5) *śabdaguṇa nirūpaṇa*, (6) *arīhaguṇa nirūpaṇa*, (7) *śabdālaṅkāra nirūpaṇa* and (8) *arīhālaṅkāra-nirūpaṇa* and every subject has been briefly and clearly dealt with, by the author, giving examples abundantly. The discussions on some points in the *vṛtti* are useful for a student to know the author's view on the particular subject. It seems that Puñjarāja has followed Vāmana in arranging subjects for the chapters, as the latter has arranged in the *adhikarāṇas* in his *alaṅkārasūtra vṛtti*.

²⁴ cf. *madhyayugīna cāritra kośa*. Poona. 1937. P. 609.

²⁵ cf. *Jain sākhyāno saṅkṣipta itihāsa (sacitra)* by Mohanlal D. Desai, Bombay, 1933, pp. 475-484.

²⁶ p. 2. adh. 1, sl. 6.

in some cases he has mixed up *vṛtti* and *udāharana* with *kārikās* and hence it is not possible to separate *kārikās* only for numbering.

Out of five schools of poetics, *alaṅkāra* school was founded by Bhāmaha and Puñjarāja seems to follow him in giving self-composed illustrations.²⁷ Though he accepts '*pratibha*' as the cause of poetry following Bhāmaha, Vāmana and others, regarding the characteristics of *kāvya* he follows Mammaṭa.²⁸ Without expressing his own opinion in respect of divisions of *Kāvya*, he gives divisions like 'uttāma, madhyama and adhama' as mentioned by others. This defect may be noticed in other topics also in later parts of this work, especially in *alaṅkāradhyāya* VIII.²⁹

After the benedictory verses, in the short introduction of this work, Puñja opines that the person incapable of composing poems should attempt to get them composed through others (स्वयमकविरन्यद्वाराऽपि काव्यनिर्माणप्रयत्नं कुर्यादित्यभिप्रायः). This gives room for doubts about his own composition and those are also supported by the presence of some verses which may not be his own composition. The verses which seem to be addressed to Puñja by his admirers, bearing his name are as follows:—

पृथ्वी भरे वहति ते नृप पुञ्ज बाहौ ॥ अ. ८. श्लो. ७९. पृ. ५९

वितरति वित्तं पुञ्जो अ. ८. श्लो. ८५ पृ. ६०.

भाग्यं तवान्यादृशमेव पुञ्ज । अ. ८. श्लो. १२७. पृ. ६६.

As Puñja has promised in the introduction that he would not accept compositions of others except those of Kālidāsa for illustrative examples, how could he accept these verses which evidently belong to others? Any how one has to be satisfied that those compositions being his property, belong to him only and here could not be any doubt regarding the authorship of the composition *isuprabodha Kāvya-ālaṅkāra*.

While comparing the verses of the printed editions of Kālidāsa's works, with the verses accepted as examples in this present work, one may find some peculiar readings of a few words which are enumerated below:—

Accepted in शि. का.	Page No.	Other editions
मुखचक्षिभिः	४	मुखभ्रंशिभिः अ. शा. अं. १ श्लो. ७
सरःपङ्कज विसेन	५	रसापङ्कज विसेन कु. सं. स. ३ श्लो. ३७
विश्वस्तैः विश्रब्धैः विश्रान्ति	५ ३७ "	विश्रब्ध विश्रामं } अ. शा. अं. २. श्लो. ६.

²⁷ cf. *ibid.*, p. 1, adh. 1. sl. 3 and 6 and *bhāmahā-ālaṅkāra* ed. by D. T. Patancharya, Tiruvadi, 1934, p. 62, ch. II-96.

²⁸ cf. *ibid.*, p. 2. adh. 1. sl. 9 and *Kāvya-prakāśa ullāsa* 1, *Kārikā* 4.

²⁹ *Ibid.* P. 59. adh. VIII. अथ तुल्ययोगितालङ्कारः etc.

वदन्त्यपणीमिति

६६

वदन्त्यपणीति च कु. सं. स. ५. श्लो. ७.

गृहेऽपि

पेशलं }

२८

गृहेषु

पेशलं }

कु. सं. स. ५. श्लो. ४.

विपुलजयनां

विपुलजयनां

मे. दू. पू. मे. श्लो. ४१.

I suppose that these readings which he might have found in some of the MSS which were availed by him and adopted in the examples, are better than those appearing in published editions, or he might have collected those from the illustrations, given by rhetoricians like सोज, मम्मट, महिमभट्ट³⁰ and others

PROBABILITY OF HIS OTHER WORKS

As some of the verses which Puñja has given for illustrations, bear some historical names like वीरसेन,³¹ रणमल्ल,³² and some epic (?) names like मधुमञ्जरी and चन्द्रकेतु³³ with their description of valour and love-affair respectively. I feel that these verses may be the parts of his other works. The name, वीरसेन³⁴ must be the name of a king belonging to आसीर dynasty, who conquered Mālava in the early century A.D. Or, वीरजी (वीरमदेव)³⁵ the father of डुहरी the Tomar ruler of Gwalior might have been meant by the name वीरसेन. Because he flourished in the days of Muhammad Khilji I who was the father of Gīāsuddīn Khilji, the patron of Puñjarāja.

In the same way, रणमल्ल may be the same person रणमल्ल of मण्डोवर who helped कुम्भकर्ण गुहिलोत्त the Rāṇā of Udaipur,³⁶ in slaying the Cācā and Merā, to take revenge for causing the death of his (Kumbhakarna's) father. So, I infer that Puñja might have written some work on their heroic achievements.

Regarding मधुमञ्जरी and चन्द्रकेतु, the author himself says that he has described their love-affair in the verse 'पुलकित तनुयुष्टिर्' etc. (P. ३६, अ. ६. श्लो. ३६). There are other verses also which may be connected with the same topic, though the author has not clearly mentioned. This also gives scope for inferring that he might have written compositions on such topics.

In a few cases, the author seems to have lost his originality, and hence

³⁰ e. g. verse गहनां महिषा etc. काव्यमाला ९४. सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण of सोजदेव, (1925) p. 44, काव्यप्रकाश of मम्मट, (Poona, 1933 V. Edition) Pp. 373-374 and त्यक्तित्विक of महिमभट्ट. (Benares, 1936) Pp. २६१-३६२.

³¹ cf. *ibid.* P. 35. Adh. 6. Sl. 27.

³² cf. *ibid.* P. 56. Adh. 8. Sl. 48.

³³ cf. *ibid.* P. 37. Adh. 6. Sl. 36 (वृत्ति).

³⁴ cf. Madhyayugina caritrakośa. P. 119. under Ābhira.

³⁵ cf. J.O.I. Baroda. Vol. XIV. No. 1 (Sept. 1964), P. 82 l. 1-10.

³⁶ cf. Madhyayugina caritrakośa. P. 248. under Kumbhaka Guhilota.

he has accepted the verses of others, changing the words to other synonyms as follows :—

शशी हंसीव धवलः । सरांसीवाच्छमम्बरम् ।

स्वामिभक्तो भटः श्वेव । Page 28.

The parallel verse of Daṇḍin runs as follows :

हंसीव धवलश्चन्द्रः सरांसीवामलं नभः ।

भटुभक्तो भटः श्वेव (काव्यादर्श. परि, २. श्लो. ५५)

In the same topic, after giving the illustration of स्वामिभक्तो भटः श्वेव for हीनोपमा, the author drops out the illustrations of अधिक्कोपमा and अप्रतीतोपमा in the text. This may not be due to the haplographical omission committed by the scribe.

Though the author does not discuss much about the topics in comparison with other authors, still especially in one topic, he has tried to express his own opinion by refuting the other one.

The verse उभौ यदि व्योम्नि पृथक्प्रगङ्गावाक्काशगङ्गापयसः पतेताम् etc. शिशुपालवध, स. ३. श्लो. ८ which is accepted as the example of उत्पादोपमा by भोज in his सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण (P. ३५२) has been discussed and has been elegantly proved to be the example of अलौकिकातिशयोक्ति.

Thus, I have discussed briefly the merits and demerits of the author of *Sisuprabaddhakāvyaṭaṅkāra* and propose to leave this work in the hands of scholars for their further findings, as well as in the hands of young students who can derive a general study of गुण, दोष and अलङ्कार in a nut-shell instead of going into the ocean-like works of मम्मट and others.

In conclusion, I feel that it is my privilege to offer my sincere gratitude to Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara, the Director of Oriental Institute, Baroda for his generous and liberal attitude towards me and for entrusting this noble task. Secondly I must express my heart-felt thanks to Dr. Umakanta P. Shah the Dy. Director of the said Institute who gladly instructed me in procedure of editing this work. I would be failing in my duty if I do not mention the name of my friend Shri Jagannath S. Pade. He has helped me in this work as a guide and consultant. So, I owe him a great debt and I feel proud to thank him. I am also indebted to the authorities of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute for lending me the MS. C. for reference. The artist Shri S. M. Waghela deserves my special thanks, for his unselfish and regardful service to me, by drawing the illustrations of *bandhas* of *padma*, *cakra* and *hāra*.

The manager of the Press of the M. S. University of Baroda, Shri Ramanlal Patel who has patiently taken pains in printing this work deserves to be thanked.

Oriental Institute,
Baroda,
14th Nov., 1964.

B. L. SHANBHOGUE

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